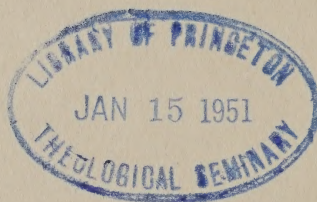
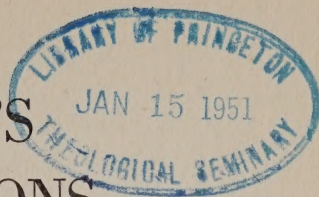


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THE YOUNG MEN'S
HEBREW ASSOCIATIONS
(1854-1913)



BY

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In Memoriam

AS this history comes off the press, the sad news has reached us of the untimely death of its author, Benjamin Rabinowitz. He died in the performance of his duties for J.W.B., terminating a career with the organization which began in World War I and continued with but a brief interruption. This book, *The History of Y.M.H.A.'s: 1854-1913*, is more than the story of a movement. Its posthumous publication is an enduring memorial to a man who recorded in deeds, much of the contribution to the growth of the Jewish Center movement that took place after 1913. Indeed his own career in Jewish Center work, for over 25 years, might well provide basic material for the sequel to the history of the earlier period of Y.M.H.A. development.

Benjamin Rabinowitz rendered conscientious, painstaking and most devoted service in the discharge of important responsibilities in our Jewish Center work and Army and Navy work. Indefatigable with apparently inexhaustible energy, he combined a full schedule of administrative work with numerous field visits, blending at all times the practical experience gained in the field with the development of guiding policies and broad principles of program.

I came to know and appreciate his sterling qualities in the early days of the organization of J.W.B. services for the armed forces in World War II. His vast contribution to the growth of U.S.O. in which he played an active role of leadership was generally recognized and valued highly by his co-workers in the J.W.B. and other U.S.O. agencies. When the U.S.O. work neared its end and Benjamin Rabinowitz resumed his former interests, as director of the Jewish Center Division, the National Council, at its meeting in

1946, expressed in formal resolution, what all of us who were associated with him during the war years felt so personally, paying its tribute of appreciation in these words: "It is a fortunate circumstance that his abilities, deep loyalty and high sense of obligation to J.W.B. can be fully relied upon in the continuing activities of J.W.B., for he symbolizes in his integrity of performance, his utter selflessness and inner dignity, the true qualities of J.W.B. service".

It is fitting that we pay our tribute of profound respect and affectionate regard to the career of Benjamin Rabinowitz in connection with this history of which he was the author, for the Y.M.H.A. was a movement to which he devoted his mature life in a spirit of high consecration.

FRANK L. WEIL

April 28, 1948

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FOREWORD

By LOUIS KRAFT

As one intimately identified with Jewish Center work for a generation, I have primarily a feeling of gratitude to the author, Benjamin Rabinowitz, my long time colleague and close associate, for the important contribution that he has made to the understanding and appreciation of the role of the Y.M.H.A. in the development of the Jewish Center movement. This history of the Y.M.H.A. is not only a painstaking work of research, marked by his characteristic integrity, but represents a real labor of love, done at personal sacrifice, in so-called free time, apart from an exacting full time service with JWB, as director of its Jewish Center activities.

The history is significant if judged solely as a chronicle of the origin and growth of the Y.M.H.A. movement, one of the important developments in Jewish life in America. Here we observe the rise of an institution indigenous to the American scene, an almost spontaneous creation of the Jews who came to these shores, determined to attain a secure existence and to build a meaningful future for those who came after them. For them, the establishment of Y.M.H.A.'s was an indication and a symbol of their faith that on these shores they could build permanent institutions of Jewish living, that here they could take their place along with fellow Americans in helping to create, in cooperative fellowship, the future America, in which every cultural group could play its part in the shaping of the American way of life.

The reader would fail to understand the full significance of this history, if he viewed it as a record of the trials and tribulations of the Y.M.H.A. movement. It is much more than an accounting of the failures and successes of an insti-

tution. It is, in fact, a reflection of the struggle of the Jews who came to these shores in successive waves of immigration, to make an adjustment to the conditions of American existence. A sociologist could readily trace the connection, indeed the author provides ample clues, between the needs of the different types of Jewish immigrant groups — the early Sephardim, the German and Austrian migrants of the early 19th century, the East European masses that arrived in the last two decades of the 20th century — and the kinds of social, cultural and religious institutions which were established. They account for the current phenomenon which is manifest in the composition of the present constituency of the National Jewish Welfare Board. For practically all of the types of institutions of social and cultural adjustment created during the past 80 years or more have survived, a few with relatively little basic modification in outlook, perhaps more out of loyalty to the tradition of their founding than to a conviction of the validity of original purpose. At any rate the names persist — Neighborhood Houses, Educational Alliances, Y.M.H.A.'s, Institutes. Yet at the time, all of these organizations represented earnest and devoted efforts to meet the specialized needs of different kinds of groups, private efforts of individuals and community-wide endeavors, all inspired by the deep sense of responsibility of Jews for fellow Jews. In retrospect we may regard some of the institutions as lacking in sensitivity to the deep hold that ancient tradition had upon the immigrant groups, but in the totality of their impact they served a generally constructive purpose in facilitating adjustment and in bridging the gap between the first and second generations, especially in the larger cities. The student of Jewish life in America may well find a deeper study of these institutions the threshold to a penetrating insight into the circumstances of the life of our parents and grandparents as they strove for integration into the American pattern while tenaciously holding on to the traditions, beliefs and

customs that tied them spiritually and culturally to an historic Jewish past.

The cessation of immigration in 1914 brought an end to this era. Our author wisely stopped his chronicle at the same point. A second volume is indicated, a study that would trace the radical change that took place in the Jewish Center movement following World War I. This is a period that is inevitably associated with the rise of the National Jewish Welfare Board which undertook in 1921, to give leadership to the group of Jewish Centers, employing the term in its generic sense, that had become affiliated with the Council of Young Men's Hebrew and Kindred Associations just prior to World War I. A new conception of the Jewish Center was fostered, more attuned to the needs of a Jewish community that had developed permanent roots, that must seek its strength largely from its own inner resources, without the replenishment that came hitherto from the inhabitants of culturally rich Old World Jewish communities. Homogeneity rather than heterogeneity was rapidly becoming the characteristic feature of the Jewish population and it was inevitable that the Jewish Center would conceive of its role in the light of the needs of a Jewish population more fully absorbed in the American pattern. The focus of the new approach, suggested in the final section of the volume, are the twin objectives of Jewish unity and Jewish group survival with all that they imply in the intensification of Jewish loyalties, Jewish cultural creativity, the development of high minded leadership and the assumption of a full share of the responsibility for the continuity of Jewish life by the American Jewish community.

INTRODUCTION.

The Young Men's Hebrew Associations had their beginnings in the United States in 1854. The history of this movement may be divided roughly into three periods. The first period coincided with the increase of German-Jewish immigration which occurred about the middle of the last century. During the second period the movement became institutionalized and was marked by philanthropic and Americanization activities on behalf of the newer immigrants who began to arrive after 1880. After the turn of the present century, these newer arrivals began to develop their own organizations which included some Y. M. H. A.'s. During this last period the Jewish Community Center appeared.

German-Jewish immigration to the United States, which began toward the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century, reached its peak as a result of the events of 1848 and continued until 1870, after which it ceased to be a considerable factor.¹ The Jewish population of the United States, it is estimated, grew from 50,000 in the mid-nineteenth century to approximately 250,000 up to 1880.² The earlier German Jewish immigrants followed the orthodox tradition, but about the middle of the nineteenth century a new liberal interpretation of Judaism began to attract increasing numbers, marked simultaneously by the growth in the number of reform congregations. During this period, the principal Jewish organizations other than the synagogues and the charitable agencies, were social clubs and benefit orders. Jewish social clubs first appeared in this country during colonial times and their development has been more rapid in the United States than anywhere else. Beginning in 1850 many of them maintained elaborate quarters, and some of them have had a continuous existence up to the present time.

¹ *Jewish Encyclopedia* (= *JEn*), New York, 1906, v. 12, p. 346.

² See n. 307, *infra*.

Similarly, fraternal orders have also been an important activity among American Jews.³

Against this background, the Young Men's Hebrew Associations made their appearance, and frequently were identified with the liberal or reform congregations. Within approximately a single generation, a substantial Y. M. H. A. movement developed, one which even at that early period seemed likely to assume a major position in American Jewish life.

I.

THE YOUNG MEN'S HEBREW LITERARY ASSOCIATIONS.

In the early 1840's, a spontaneous Jewish youth movement arose, taking the form of literary societies. These groups usually limited their membership and often several existed simultaneously in the same community. Gradually, however, they adopted the name "Young Men's Hebrew Literary Association" or "Y. M. H. L. A." The name was sometimes transposed to read "Hebrew Young Men's Literary Association." The first of these organizations was the Young Men's Hebrew Literary Association of Philadelphia, Pa., organized in 1850.⁴ The Rev. Isaac Leeser, the noted rabbi and author, participated actively in the work of this association.⁵ The striking similarity of the name to that of the Young Men's Christian Association, although a coincidence, is especially noteworthy in view of the fact that the first Young Men's Christian Association in the United States was not organized until December 29, 1851, a year after the first Y. M. H. A. appeared. Young Men's Hebrew

³ *JEn*, pp. 362, 367.

⁴ American Hebrew Association, *Association Bulletin* (=AB), Philadelphia, May, 1881; *Jewish Messenger* (=JMes), July 3, 1857; Henry Samuel Morais, *The Jews of Philadelphia*, Philadelphia, 1894, p. 162.

⁵ Solomon Solis-Cohen, *Y.M.H.A. Record*, Philadelphia, 1892.

Literary Associations were also organized in the following cities: New York City, 1851,⁶ Baltimore, Md., 1854,⁷ New Orleans, La., 1855,⁸ and Richmond, Va., 1856.⁹ The movement spread rapidly to all of the principal American communities including Chicago, Ill., Cleveland, Ohio, St. Louis, Mo.,¹⁰ San Francisco, Calif., and many others.¹¹ Two attempts were made to form a national organization of Jewish literary societies.¹²

The program of these associations comprised lectures, debates, dramatics and social activities. The larger associations maintained permanent quarters which usually included libraries, reading rooms and assembly halls. In some communities, San Francisco, Calif., for example, entire buildings were occupied. Both the literary societies and the early Young Men's Hebrew Associations drew a sharp distinction in function between the social clubs of the period and literary associations. Wherever facilities were acquired, a ban was usually placed against card-playing, gambling and drinking.¹³ The Young Men's Hebrew Literary Associations in Davenport, Iowa, and Rock Island, Ill., from their inception in 1856, also conducted religious services for young people.¹⁴

These associations were primarily literary clubs open to both men and women, and sometimes Jewish only in the sense that all their members were of that faith. Nevertheless,

⁶ *Asmonean* (= *Asm*), May 21, 1852; Feb. 9, 1855; May 16, 1856. Jacques Judah Lyons and Abraham de Sola, *A Jewish Calendar for Fifty Years*, Montreal, 1854, p. 167.

⁷ *Occident* (= *Occ*), March, 1856; *Asm*, Aug. 15, 1856; *American Israelite* (= *AI*), April 20, 1855.

⁸ *AI*, April 27, 1855.

⁹ American Hebrew Association, *AB*, May, 1881; *Occ*, Feb., 1856.

¹⁰ *AI*, Jan. 1, 1864.

¹¹ *JMes*, July 30, 1858.

¹² *Ibid.*, Oct. 5, 1866; *Occ*, Oct., 1866.

¹³ See below, section III on the New York and Philadelphia Associations.

¹⁴ *AI*, Aug. 21, 1857.

they were undoubtedly forerunners of the Young Men's Hebrew Association (Y. M. H. A.) movement and influenced the program of the early "Y's." Many of these literary associations later changed their purpose and program to conform to those of the Y. M. H. A. or merged with other literary and social groups to form a community "Y." Over a long period, the American Jewish community drew little distinction between the Young Men's Hebrew Literary Associations and the Young Men's Hebrew Associations. When the first attempt to form a national organization of Y. M. H. A.'s was made in 1880 literary associations were admitted to membership. The American Hebrew Association, the national organization of Y. M. H. A.'s and kindred organizations formed in 1880, regarded the Young Men's Hebrew Literary Association of Philadelphia, which had been established in 1850, as the first Y. M. H. A., and traced the origin of the Y. M. H. A. movement to the Jewish literary organizations.¹⁵

Literary societies were widespread throughout the general community during this period and directly influenced all youth programs. The first facilities established by the early Young Men's Christian Associations and the Young Men's Hebrew Associations were libraries and reading rooms. The librarian was the first professional employee in the Young Men's Hebrew Associations and in many of the Young Men's Christian Associations.¹⁶ The library of the New York Young Men's Hebrew Association was the nucleus of the Aguilar Free Public Library, established in 1886, and later merged with its three branch libraries in the New York Public

¹⁵ American Hebrew Association, *AB*, May, 1881.

¹⁶ Young Men's Hebrew Association, New York City, *Minutes*, 1874, located at the New York Y.M.H.A.; Young Men's Hebrew Association, Philadelphia, Pa., *Minutes*, 1875, located at Philadelphia Y.M.H.A.; *AI*, Jan. 17, 1873, and June 11, 1877; *The Hundred Year Book*, of the National Council of Young Men's Christian Associations of Canada and United States of America, Association Press, New York City, 1944, p. 1862.

Library.¹⁷ The library of the noted Rev. Isaac Leeser was placed in the Philadelphia, Pa., Y. M. H. A. in 1876, and was catalogued by the young Cyrus Adler.¹⁸

II.

THE YOUNG MEN'S HEBREW ASSOCIATIONS, 1854-1874.

The first association, bearing the name "Young Men's Hebrew Association," appeared in Baltimore in 1854. Henrietta Szold stated that the association existed for six years. According to another Baltimore historian, "A Young Men's Hebrew Association, the Hebrew Young Men's Literary Society and the Mendelssohn Literary Society flourished in the fifties."¹⁹ The Augusta, Ga., Y. M. H. A., chiefly devoted to charitable purposes, was organized in 1857.²⁰ The Buffalo Hebrew Young Men's Association was organized in 1858,²¹ and the Cleveland Y. M. H. A. in 1859.²² Y. M. H. A.'s were organized in Richmond, Va., in the early 1860's,²³ and in Syracuse, N. Y., in 1861.²⁴ The first of several attempts to organize a Y. M. H. A. in Louisville, Ky., was made about 1862.²⁵

Shortly after the Civil War, the movement began to develop

¹⁷ *JEn*, v. 9, p. 280.

¹⁸ Cyrus Adler, *I Have Considered the Days*, Philadelphia, Pa., 1941, pp. 20-21; W. R. Langfeld, *The Young Men's Hebrew Association of Philadelphia*, Philadelphia, Pa., 1928, p. 11.

¹⁹ *JEn*, v. 2, pp. 480-81; Isidor Blum, *The Jews of Baltimore*, Baltimore, Md., 1910, p. 25.

²⁰ *AI*, Jan. 23, 1857.

²¹ *Occ*, Dec., 1858; *AI*, Oct. 29, 1858.

²² *Jewish Communal Register*, New York, 1917, p. 1157; *Occ*, Feb. 7, 1861.

²³ H. T. Ezekiel and G. Lichtenstein, *History of the Jews of Richmond*, Richmond, Va., 1917, p. 231.

²⁴ *AI*, April 5, 1861.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, May 11, 1877.

rapidly. The first Y. M. H. A. in Cincinnati was organized in 1865, through the efforts of Dr. Max Lilienthal, who was actively interested in the movement over a long period of years and endeavored to extend it throughout the country.²⁶ The New Orleans, La.,²⁷ and Quincy, Ill.,²⁸ Y. M. H. A.'s were active in 1866 and possibly at earlier dates. The New Orleans Association was reported in that year to have presented one thousand dollars, the proceeds of a ball, to a local synagogue for the construction of a new building.

The most important of these early associations was the Cincinnati Y. M. H. A., which existed for over three years from 1867 to 1871.²⁹ Rabbis Isaac Mayer Wise and Max Lilienthal were among its ardent supporters. The membership numbered over three hundred, and permanent quarters were maintained. The following interesting definition of aims is from its constitution:

The association was organized for the purpose of cultivating and fostering a better knowledge of the history, literature and doctrines of Judaism; to develop and elevate our mental and moral character; to entertain and edify ourselves with such intellectual agencies as we may deem fit, and finally and above all, it is our mission to promulgate the sublime and eternal principles of Judaism to the world, and when necessary to defend though honorably and peaceably, the faith of our ancestors.³⁰

An address by Dr. Lilienthal, at the first anniversary of the Cincinnati Y. M. H. A. in 1868, was reported in part as follows:

Dr. Lilienthal cited the admirable organizations of the Christian young men throughout the country as a fit example for the Jewish young men, who should not only have a perfect working union in cities, but a perpetual correspondence should spring up

²⁶ *Ibid.*, Nov. 24, 1865; Jan. 8, 1870; *JMes*, Jan. 8, 1870.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, March 16, 1866.

²⁸ *AI*, Sept. 28, 1866.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, Nov. 8, 1867; *JMes*, Jan. 3, 1868, and Jan. 6, 1871.

³⁰ *Jewish Times* (= *JT*), Dec. 10, 1869.

between the associations of the various cities. He gloried in the recent organization of Jewish Young Men's societies in Baltimore, Louisville, St. Louis, Wheeling, and other cities and trusted they would persevere and form a more extended union throughout the west.³¹

Early in the following year, 1869, the Cincinnati Y. M. H. A. decided to extend the movement by appointing "a committee to address proper letters to various Jewish communities recommending the organization of similar associations."³² The Jefferson Literary Association organized in Richmond, Va., in 1867 is of interest as it was affiliated with the national organization of Y. M. H. A.'s formed in 1880; it is still in existence and is known as the Jefferson Club.³³ The Louisville Y. M. H. A. was reorganized in 1868, lasted two years, and another reorganization was effected in 1870.³⁴ This time the association continued for four years. Dr. Isaac Mayer Wise reported that he addressed the Louisville Association in 1873 at which time its objective was to build up a library on Jewish matters.³⁵ The Lafayette, Ind., Y. M. H. A. was organized in 1868.³⁶ The Baltimore Y. M. H. A. was reorganized the same year.³⁷ The Hebrew Literary Association of Cleveland decided in 1869 "to function as the local organization corresponding to the Young Men's Christian Association," due to lack of a Y. M. H. A.³⁸ In 1869, Y. M. H. A.'s were also organized in Madison, Ind.,³⁹ Parkersburg, W. Va.,⁴⁰ and Montgomery, Ala.⁴¹ A letter to a New York Jewish

³¹ *AI*, Nov. 6, 1868.

³² *Ibid.*, April 23 1869.

³³ Ezekiel and Lichtenstein, *supra*, p. 232.

³⁴ *AI*, March 6, 1868; *JT*, March 7, 1870.

³⁵ *AI*, Jan. 17, 1873.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, Dec. 31, 1869.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, Feb. 14, 1868.

³⁸ *JMes*, Jan. 22, 1869; *AI*, Jan. 29, 1869.

³⁹ *AI*, Feb. 19, 1869.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, March 19, 1869.

⁴¹ *JMes*, Nov. 12, 1869.

periodical by Dr. Lilienthal, advocating the establishment of Y. M. H. A.'s, appeared late in 1869 and contained the following statement: "Since the last two years, similar associations have been started in Richmond, Louisville, Montgomery, Madison, and other cities, and I wonder why the Jews of New York do not try to follow the good example."⁴² The following communication to the editor of the same periodical from Simon Wolf, already embarked on his career as a leader in American Jewry, appeared also in 1869:

I am seriously thinking of starting a National Young Men's Hebrew Association, not after the sectarian idea of the Young Men's Christian Association, but on a rational basis, progressive and social. Why not have our centers of thought and national exchanges of ideas? Why not rear marble fronts to show our social and intellectual condition as citizens and Israelites? It is an idea fraught with great import, and I hope that you will agitate the subject.⁴³

In 1870, Y. M. H. A.'s were organized in Baltimore, Md., Henderson, Ky.,⁴⁴ and New York City.⁴⁵ The president of the New York Y. M. H. A., which was organized in 1870, was Ralph Moss, and the Board of Directors included such prominent local leaders as Judge Philip J. Joachimsen; Myer Stern, president of the Hebrew Benevolent and Orphan Society; and J. P. Solomon; all of whom were active in the present New York Y. M. H. A., organized in 1874. The announced program included lecture courses, free religious services for the high holidays and co-operation with the new American Jewish Publication Society. Despite the enrollment of over 300 members, the association went out of existence after two years. The organization of the Baltimore Y.M.H.A. of 1870 was opposed by one of the local rabbis because of its

⁴² *JT*, Dec. 10, 1869.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, Dec. 24, 1869.

⁴⁴ *AI*, Jan. 28, 1870.

⁴⁵ *JMes*, April 1, 1870; Dec. 30, 1870; April 19, 1872; *Hebrew Leader* (= *HL*), Dec. 30, 1870; Certificate of Incorporation, Dec. 10, 1870, New York State.

program of conducting Friday evening services combined with "exercises."⁴⁶ In 1873, Dr. Lilienthal succeeded in reorganizing the Cincinnati Y. M. H. A., and the association was active until a more permanent reorganization was effected in 1877.⁴⁷ The Young Men's Association of Temple Ahavath Chesed of New York was also organized the same year, and was an important member of the national organization of Y.M.H.A.'s formed in 1880.⁴⁸ The first Y.M.H.A. in Philadelphia was established in 1873, and functioned actively until 1875 when, together with representatives of literary societies, it was reorganized into the present Philadelphia association. The Rev. Sabato Morais, later a founder and first president of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, was for a time president of the earlier Philadelphia Y. M. H. A.⁴⁹

A number of these early associations had a clear concept of the Y. M. H. A. as a community-wide organization furnishing a common meeting ground for all Jewish young men in the community, and having a consciously Jewish program. The editorial utterances of Jewish periodicals of the period are of interest on this subject. Thus in 1870, *The Jewish Messenger* was urging a central Y. M. H. A. building in New York City, "for religious and general lectures, fairs, Jewish balls, banquets, and for other purposes."⁵⁰ Again in 1874, it stated editorially, "One of the missions of the Y. M. H. A. is to unite on a common platform the young men of the different synagogues and nationalities"⁵¹; and again in 1877, "It is absolutely a novelty in American

⁴⁶ *AI*, Jan. 16 and 28, 1870; *JMes*, Feb. 4, 1870.

⁴⁷ *AI*, Jan. 17, 1873; *JMes*, Feb. 4, 1870; Jan. 24, 1873.

⁴⁸ *AI*, Nov. 28, 1873; *JT*, April 14, 1876.

⁴⁹ *JMes*, Dec. 11, 1874; May 21, 1875; *AI*, May 21, 1875; H. S. Morais, *The Jews of Philadelphia*, Philadelphia, Pa., 1894, pp. 163-167; W. R. Langfeld, *supra*, p. 7.

⁵⁰ *JMes*, Nov. 27, 1874.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

Judaism to see all classes united on a broad platform 'from which all doctrinal differences are rigidly excluded, to have all nationalities merging together in a general movement.'⁵² The extent of the movement may be judged by the proposal of Dr. Lilienthal in 1870 that the Y. M. H. A.'s and literary societies unite to organize a Hebrew Literary Publication Society; he estimated that at least ten thousand members would be available for this purpose.⁵³ Between 1854 and 1874 over a score of Y. M. H. A.'s were organized with varying success. During the next dozen years this growth was greatly accelerated, and culminated in two attempts to establish a national organization.

The indirect influence of the Young Men's Christian Associations upon the early Y. M. H. A.'s should be noted. From their founding in 1851, the Young Men's Christian Associations began to spread at a rapid rate, gaining much prestige during the Civil War by the organization of the United States Christian Commission to serve the armies. At the close of the Civil War, the number of Young Men's Christian Associations was only sixty; within ten years (1874) their number had grown to the astounding total of 950 associations.⁵⁴ The Jewish community in the United States could not fail to be impressed by the new movement. A handful of Y. M. H. A.'s came into existence in the 1850's; but immediately after the Civil War their number began to multiply. The liberal rabbis of the time were deeply interested in the development and not only assisted actively in the organization of new Y. M. H. A.'s, but in many instances, assumed the office of president. At the same time they were careful to point out the difference in emphasis between the Jewish and Christian "Y's." This was due partly to the fact

⁵² *Ibid.*, May 7, 1877.

⁵³ *JT*, Nov. 25, 1870.

⁵⁴ L. L. Doggett, *Life of Robert R. McBurney*, Cleveland, Ohio, 1902; Richard C. Morse, *History of the North American YMCA's*, New York, 1913, pp. 73, 137.

that the early Young Men's Christian Association was frequently regarded as an evangelical organization, a movement for the reform of criminals, a temperance society, and an agency attempting to enforce Sunday "blue laws." Nevertheless, the Young Men's Christian Association movement accelerated the organization of a parallel Jewish movement and to a lesser extent influenced the philosophy of the early Y. M. H. A.'s. In the first place, the sectarianism of the Young Men's Christian Association was translated in the Y. M. H. A. into a positive attitude toward Jewish affairs in place of the passive interest in things Jewish apparent in the literary and social clubs of the period. Secondly, the Young Men's Christian Association's plan, for a single unified association in each community, was reflected in the Y. M. H. A. concept of a community-wide organization offering a common platform for all Jews in the community. The Y. M. H. A. inherited its educational facilities, the library and reading room, and the auditorium, from the literary associations; and its recreational facilities, the gymnasium, bowling alleys and billiard rooms, from the social clubs of the period. The widespread establishment of Young Men's Christian Associations with institutional features accelerated the opening of similar facilities by Y. M. H. A.'s. The erection of the first Young Men's Christian Association building in New York in 1869, and the opening of a similar building in Philadelphia a few years later, probably influenced the establishment of Y. M. H. A.'s in these cities, and helped to initiate a period of great expansion.

III.

THE NEW YORK AND PHILADELPHIA ASSOCIATIONS.

The establishment of the New York and Philadelphia Y. M. H. A.'s in 1874 and 1875, respectively, initiated a period of extensive development in the field. These two

associations are the oldest in existence with a continuous history; although, as stated previously, earlier Y. M. H. A.'s had existed for short periods in both communities and a number of associations were functioning at the time in other cities. Both organizations were successful from their inception; the New York Y. M. H. A. enrolled one thousand two hundred and fifty members within a few months, and the Philadelphia Y. M. H. A. obtained a membership of six hundred. These totals are noteworthy in view of the modest facilities afforded, and the fact that the Jewish population of New York at the time was 60,000 and that of Philadelphia 12,000.⁵⁵

Both associations were fortunate from their earliest beginnings in their leadership which included outstanding members of the American Jewish community of the time. Lewis May, the first president of the New York Y. M. H. A., then fifty-one years of age, was also president of Temple Emanu-El in New York City from 1865 to 1897. Mayer Sulzberger was in his early thirties when he became president of the Philadelphia Y. M. H. A. in 1875. He had already acquired an enviable reputation as a Hebrew scholar and editor of *The Occident*, and was well on the road to recognition as the first Jewish citizen of Philadelphia. The boards of directors, officers and active workers of the New York and Philadelphia associations included such men as Jacob H. Schiff; Judge Philip J. Joachimsen, president of the Board of Delegates of American Israelites in 1875 and organizer of the New York Hebrew Sheltering Guardian Society (1879); Myer Stern, president of the Hebrew Benevolent and Orphan Society; Myer S. Isaacs, founder of the New York United Hebrew Charities (1874); William B. Hackenburg, vice-president of the Board of Delegates of American Israelities and compiler of the first comprehensive statistical survey of the Jews of

⁵⁵ Board of Delegates of American Israelites and Union of American Hebrew Congregations, *Statistics of Jews of United States*, Philadelphia, 1880, pp. 9 and 15.

the United States (1880)⁵⁶; Samuel A. Lewis, president of the New York City Board of Aldermen (1874); Adolph L. Sanger (president, New York Y. M. H. A., 1879), president of the Board of Delegates of American Israelites, vice-president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, and elected president of the New York City Board of Aldermen in 1885; and the Rabbis Gustav Gottheil, Frederick de Sola Mendes, Sabato Morais, and others. In addition, there was a host of brilliant younger men including Daniel P. Hays, Cyrus L. Sulzberger, Solomon Solis-Cohen, Samuel Greenbaum, Cyrus Adler, Adolph Lewisohn, Oscar S. Straus, and many others. This type of leadership was immediately reflected in communities throughout the country.

▲ The administrative and membership policies of the New York and Philadelphia Y. M. H. A.'s were similar to those of modern associations, as will be brought out later in this account. Allowing for the fact that they served senior and adult members primarily, and both associations had limited professional direction, their programs of activities were of an unusually high order. An annual prospectus was issued by both Y. M. H. A.'s in the fall of each year, and the programs were planned in advance for the entire season. An interesting method of membership promotion was employed in both communities in their beginnings; all members were offered a free lecture course with nationally prominent speakers. The New York Y. M. H. A. program of 1874-1875 included Carl Schurz and Bayard Taylor. The annual paid lecture and concert series in large auditoriums were important activities in both communities for many years. The major lectures were presented monthly; literary and musical programs, also frequently with paid talent, were offered usually on alternate weeks at the association rooms. The group activities, conducted during 1875-1876 by the New York Y. M. H. A., included classes in Hebrew language and litera-

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*; see also the *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* (=PAJHS), no. 6, pp. 143-145; no. 9, p. 123.

ture, French, German, English literature, music, Glee Club, orchestra, dramatic art, literary society, phonography, chess and athletic circle. An employment bureau was also conducted. Similar activities were sponsored by the Philadelphia Y. M. H. A., and paid professional instructors were employed from the beginning. Women were permitted to join the group activities. The general membership was comparable in age to the young adult groups of the modern Jewish center.

Both the Philadelphia and the New York associations actively participated in matters of Jewish interest and, as will be related later, attempted very early in their careers to assume a vital role in matters concerning the welfare of American Jewry as a whole. The New York Y. M. H. A. constitution included among its objectives "the protection of Jewish interests"; and the constitutions of both associations included "lectures on Jewish History and Literature."

A striking chapter in the early history of the New York association was its active interest in Jewish education. Beginning with the year 1875, only one year after its organization, an outstanding activity of the association was the conduct of an annual Hebrew competitive examination for the pupils of the Hebrew Free School Association, and of institutional, congregational and private schools. These examinations have been hailed as the first "serious effort to centralize the work of the Jewish religious schools of New York."⁵⁷ The Board of Examiners consisted of prominent rabbis and teachers and rules to govern the examinations were drawn up by representatives of the schools. The examinations were intended to influence the methods of instruction, through "proper grading, selection of text books," etc. Approximately seventy selected pupils from the various schools appeared for the annual examinations. The effort failed after a few years, due to the gradual with-

⁵⁷ Alexander M. Dushkin, *Jewish Education in New York City*, New York 1918, p. 60.

drawal of the congregational schools which limited instruction to one or two days a week and could not compete with the daily schools.⁵⁸ In the early 1880's a branch school and also the Ladies Hebrew Seminary of the Hebrew Free School Association, the first effort to train American Hebrew teachers in New York, were conducted in the Y. M. H. A. building.⁵⁹

Two classes in Hebrew language and literature were conducted at the New York Y. M. H. A. beginning in 1876, by the Reverend Drs. G. Gottheil, F. de Sola Mendes and Henry P. Mendes. Classes in Jewish history and literature were offered for a number of years at the Philadelphia Y. M. H. A. by the Reverends Sabato Morais and George Jacobs. Others who participated in the conduct of the above courses or who delivered lectures on Jewish subjects during the first few years of the existence of the New York and Philadelphia associations included Judge Philip J. Joachimsen, Simon Wolf, Benjamin F. Peixotto, Henrietta Szold, Simon W. Rosendale, Henry S. Morais, Henry M. Leipziger, Mayer Sulzberger, Cyrus L. Sulzberger, Alexander Kohut, Cyrus Adler, Joseph Jastrow, Solomon Solis-Cohen, Adolph L. Sanger, and the Reverend Drs. Benjamin Szold, Emil G. Hirsch, Marcus Jastrow, Joseph Krauskopf and A. S. Isaacs.

Annual original essay contests were conducted, beginning in 1876, by the New York Y. M. H. A. and, beginning in 1877, by the Philadelphia association. Emma Lazarus and Solomon Solis-Cohen were among the early prize-winners. Both associations frequently published in

⁵⁸ *JMes*, June 4, 1875; June 16 and 27, 1876; March 23, 1877; June 6, 1878.

⁵⁹ Hebrew Free School Association, *Minutes*, April 25, 1882; March 2, 1886; Hebrew Free School Association, *Annual Report*, 1886, pp. 10, 26, 27; *Souvenir Book of Fair in Aid of Educational Alliance and Hebrew Technical Institute*, New York, 1895, pp. 45-48 (at Educational Alliance, New York City); *AI*, Dec. 28, 1883.

pamphlet form lectures on Jewish subjects, or prize-winning essays. Beginning in 1878, the New York Y. M. H. A. annually conducted in the Academy of Music, and later at Madison Square Garden, a Hanukkah festival consisting of tableaux and pageants based on the story of the Maccabees, with a cast of several hundred participants. The pageants were prepared and actively supervised by leading local rabbis. The 1881 Hanukkah festival netted a profit of over \$4,000. The annual Purim ball of the Philadelphia Y.M.H.A. was conducted from 1879 to 1910. Operettas and cantatas on Jewish themes were featured at the Purim balls of both associations.

Many of the associations organized at this time were fully conscious of the implications of the name "Y. M. H. A." *The Association Review*, published in Philadelphia in 1877-1878, contained editorials pointing out the distinction between the Y. M. H. A. and the Hebrew Young Men's Association. The aforementioned publication, as well as the national publication, the *Association Bulletin*, published from 1881 to 1883, featured articles on Jewish themes in every issue.

These associations were primarily educational organizations. In their efforts to differentiate themselves from the prevalent Jewish social club of the period, the Y. M. H. A.'s generally prohibited gambling, card-playing and drinking. The New York and Philadelphia associations also barred smoking in the association rooms, but later on permitted it in specified portions of the buildings. During their early years, neither organization conducted social activities of any kind. At the 1879 annual meeting of the New York Y. M. H. A., a motion was passed (not without opposition) calling for the conduct of two social entertainments each year. The Board of Directors accordingly combined the annual Hanukkah and Purim festivals with a dance. Despite the success of these two functions, the annual report for 1880 contained the following statement:

... it is the opinion of the Executive Committee that such entertainments as were given at Hanukkah and Purim are not embraced within the aims and objects of the Association, and that no entertainment followed by dancing should be given as one of the regular course of entertainments of this Association.

In the debate which followed, leading members "opposed dancing and protested against announcing it as a regular part of the programme, and . . . pointed out the danger which threatens the Jews in this country if they do not pay proper regard to intellectual education."⁶⁰

The stability of some of these early Y. M. H. A.'s is perhaps best shown by a summary of the financial report of the New York association for the year 1881-1882. The receipts for the year were \$14,892.02. Of this income, \$4,736 represented dues from 1,442 members; the balance represented income from festivals, entertainments, rentals of rooms, etc. The disbursements for the year were \$12,223.58. The association also had assets towards a building fund, amounting to \$7,713.91.⁶¹

The early programs of the New York and Philadelphia Y. M. H. A.'s have been described in some detail because of their widespread influence on the movement as a whole. Associations throughout the country conducted activities including many of the features of the programs of these two associations. The Philadelphia Y. M. H. A. sent copies of its program to all other Y. M. H. A.'s. *The Association Review* of 1877, probably the first Y. M. H. A. publication, was published as a private venture in the interests of the Philadelphia "Y" by a few of its members, including Solomon Solis-Cohen and Cyrus L. Sulzberger. After a few issues, however, its masthead was changed to "a monthly journal devoted to the interests of Young Men's Hebrew Associations," and news of other associations was featured. The *Review* also agitated for the establishment of a national

⁶⁰ *JMes*, May 21, 1880.

⁶¹ *Jewish Advocate* (= *JA*), May, 1882.

organization of Y. M. H. A.'s. This venture led to the founding of the *American Hebrew* in 1879. The original editorial board included Solomon Solis-Cohen, Cyrus L. Sulzberger, Philip Cowen, Max Cohen, Daniel Hays, Samuel Greenbaum, the Rev. H. Pereira Mendes, Dr. Frederick de Sola Mendes and Jacob Fonseca da Silva Solis—all active leaders of the Philadelphia and New York Y. M. H. A.'s.⁶²

This was a period of very rapid growth in the Y. M. H. A. movement, and the minutes of both the New York and Philadelphia Y. M. H. A.'s record frequent requests for copies of their constitutions and bylaws, which were widely used as models. The rapid expansion of the movement and the development of stability through the acquisition of facilities will be described in succeeding chapters.

IV.

THE YOUNG MEN'S HEBREW ASSOCIATIONS (1874-1890).

The growth in the number of associations during this period permits of chronological listing; however, there are probably a large number of unrecorded associations in addition to those listed below. It should also be noted that the inability of some of these organizations to maintain a continuous existence, thus necessitating reorganization, is not a true measure of their effectiveness. Many of them maintained permanent and elaborate quarters, including libraries, reading rooms and gymnasiums; published periodicals, and conducted lecture courses and comprehensive educational programs. Approximately fifty associations maintained permanent quarters prior to 1890, in many cases occupying entire buildings.

⁶² *American Hebrew* (=AH), Nov. 22, 1913; Dec. 3, 1915; and Nov. 22, 1929; Philip Cowen, *Memories of an American Jew*, New York, 1932, pp. 41, 52, 53.

Unless otherwise indicated, the organizations were called Y. M. H. A.'s. The date given is the year of organization; associations listed as "active" may have been established at earlier dates.⁶³

1874.

New York City; Savannah, Ga.⁶⁴

The Savannah association was organized under the name, Youth's Historical Society, and was reorganized as a Y. M. H. A. in 1888.⁶⁵ In 1883, it conducted a debate at Savannah with the Jacksonville Y. M. H. A.; perhaps the first inter-association debate.⁶⁶

1875.

Boston, Mass. (1875-1877)⁶⁷; Philadelphia, Pa.; Cleveland, Ohio, Young Men's Jewish Association⁶⁸; Marion, S. C.⁶⁹; Baltimore, Md.⁷⁰; and Jersey City, N. J. (1875-1877).⁷¹

The Boston Y. M. H. A. was organized in February, 1875, and at its annual general meeting the same year, the following was reported:

Through the kindness of His Honor, the Mayor of the City, the Association has received the use of a suite of rooms in the City Hall handsomely furnished and which is given gratis to the society until such time as they will be able to have a building of their own. These rooms are used principally by the employment bureau whose duties are very arduous. Here too, members of the Board of Directors are in attendance daily from 12 until 2 o'clock, for the purpose of receiving applications and assisting the deserving poor. In the short time of three months since the organization of the society, over

⁶³ See Appendix A, pp. 88-91.

⁶⁴ *JEn*, v. 11, p. 88.

⁶⁵ *AI*, Dec. 21, 1888, and Jan. 3, 1889.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, Oct. 5, 1883.

⁶⁷ *JMes*, Feb. 5, 1875; July 27, 1877.

⁶⁸ *AI*, Feb. 11, 1876.

⁶⁹ New York Y.M.H.A., *Minutes*, June 25, 1875.

⁷⁰ *Jewish Record* (= *JRec*), Aug. 6, 1875.

⁷¹ *JMes*, Feb. 9, 1877; Aug. 21, 1877.

150 persons have been aided in various ways — some with money, clothing, employment, lodging, etc. One of the most important of all was the supplying of Matzohs and groceries to 18 Jewish families during Passover.⁷²

1876.

Washington, D. C. (1876–1877)⁷³; New York City, Young Men's Hebrew Union⁷⁴; Leavenworth, Kan. (active)⁷⁵; and Brooklyn, N. Y.⁷⁶

The Washington Y. M. H. A. was organized with Simon Wolf as president and Adolphus S. Solomons as vice-president, and maintained quarters consisting of two large halls on Pennsylvania Avenue. A correspondent of the period wrote: "Washington is afflicted with a plethora of Jewish societies and it is proposed to combine them all under one organization to be known as the YMHA."

The Young Men's Hebrew Union of New York was the first of a number of associations which appeared under that name from 1877 to 1901, and echoed an effort in the early history of the Young Men's Christian Association to liberalize the evangelical basis of its membership through the organization of Young Men's Christian Unions.⁷⁷ The New York Young Men's Hebrew Union co-operated with the existing Y. M. H. A. and opened its rooms at 120 Second Avenue with Daniel P. Hays and Henry M. Leipziger as the principal speakers. It was intended to serve the east side of the city. The New York Y. M. H. A. was active in spreading the new movement, as Messrs. Hays and Leipziger assisted in organizing the Newark, N. J., Y. M. H. A. in 1877⁷⁸ and the Harlem, N. Y., Y. M. H. A. in 1878.⁷⁹

⁷² *Ibid.*, May 7, 1875.

⁷³ *AI*, Nov. 17, 1876; *JMes*, Oct. 20, 1875; July 27, 1877.

⁷⁴ *JMes*, Feb. 2, 1877; Feb. 8, 1878; *AI*, Feb. 16, 1877.

⁷⁵ *AI*, March 31, 1876.

⁷⁶ *JMes*, Feb. 9, 1877; Board of Delegates of American Israelites and Union of American Hebrew Congregations, *Statistics of Jews of U. S.*, p. 59.

⁷⁷ L. L. Doggett, *supra*, p. 60.

⁷⁸ *JRec*, Jan. 11, 1878.

⁷⁹ *JMes*, June 21, 1878.

1877.

Indianapolis, Ind.⁸⁰; Williamsport, Pa.⁸¹; Cincinnati, Ohio⁸²; East Side Y. M. H. A. of New York⁸³; New Orleans, La. (1877-1884)⁸⁴; Chicago, Ill. (three associations)⁸⁵; San Francisco, Calif. (1877-1890)⁸⁶; Tarboro, N. C.⁸⁷; Charleston, S. C.⁸⁸; Pittsburgh, Pa.⁸⁹; Baltimore, Md.⁹⁰; Newark, N. J. (1877-1898)⁹¹; Paterson, N. J.⁹²; Wilkes-Barre, Pa.⁹³; and St. Louis Hebrew Young Men's Literary Association.

In Cincinnati, a literary society was reorganized in 1877 as the Y. M. H. A. and continued in active existence for approximately a quarter of a century. Among its founders was Alfred M. Cohen (later president of the Independent Order B'nai B'rith), who served as president of the local Y. M. H. A. from 1880 to 1890. The association maintained large quarters and conducted an extensive educational program, particularly on behalf of the immigrant groups who began to arrive after 1880.

The New Orleans Y. M. H. A. in 1878 sent appeals to other associations to assist in combatting the yellow fever epidemic then raging; contributions were acknowledged from

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, Feb. 2, 1877.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, Feb. 9, 1877.

⁸² *Ibid.*, June 8, 1877; *AI*, June 22, 1877.

⁸³ *JMes*, July 20, 1877.

⁸⁴ *AI*, July 6, 1877; Aug. 15, 1884; Oct. 3, 1884; *JMes*, Aug. 22, 1884.

⁸⁵ *AI*, Aug. 17, 1877; Dec. 21, 1877; *JRec*, Feb. 8, 1878.

⁸⁶ *JMes*, Oct. 26, 1877; *JRec*, Oct. 27, 1877.

⁸⁷ *JMes*, Jan. 4, 1878.

⁸⁸ *AI*, Dec. 12, 1877.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, March 8, 1878, Nov. 15, 1878; Pittsburgh Y.M.H.A. (nameless annual), Oct. 7, 1878 (contains First Annual Report).

⁹⁰ *JMes*, Dec. 7, 1877.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, Jan. 4, 1878; *JAd*, March, 1879.

⁹² Paterson, N. J., Y.M. & Y.W.H.A., *Dedication Program*, March 8-15, 1925.

⁹³ *Association Review* (=AR), Philadelphia, Sept., 1877; *JRec*, March 8, 1878.

the Y. M. H. A.'s of Philadelphia, New York, Newark and Charleston. The Philadelphia Y. M. H. A. forwarded \$500 to the New Orleans association.⁹⁴

The St. Louis Hebrew Young Men's Literary Association was reorganized in 1880 as a Y. M. H. A. It was described as "the most energetic of the local institutions," and raised \$2,000 for yellow fever sufferers in 1878. At the time of reorganization in 1880, an unsuccessful effort was made to merge with another local literary society known as the T. J. B. Both the Y. M. H. A. and the T. J. B. became affiliated with the national organization of Y. M. H. A.'s which was formed the same year.⁹⁵

In Chicago, three associations were organized during the same year (1877) and were known as the North Side, West Side and South Side Y. M. H. A.'s, respectively.⁹⁶

The Pittsburgh association was called the Y. M. H. A. of Allegheny County, and its first president was Josiah Cohen, who later became a judge and an outstanding Jewish leader in Pennsylvania.

1878.

Macon, Ga.⁹⁷; Brooklyn Young Men's Hebrew Union⁹⁸; Hartford, Conn.⁹⁹; Opelousas, La.¹⁰⁰; Harlem, New York City (1878-1885)¹⁰¹; Louisville, Ky.¹⁰²; Chattanooga, Tenn.¹⁰³; and Galveston, Texas.¹⁰⁴

⁹⁴ Philadelphia Y.M.H.A., *Minutes*, Aug. 27, 1878.

⁹⁵ *AR*, Philadelphia, Oct. 1877; *JMes*, Sept. 6, 1878; *AI*, Jan. 30, 1890.

⁹⁶ *AI*, Dec. 20, 1878.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, Nov. 29, 1878; *JAd*, Jan., 1879.

⁹⁸ *JMes*, May 7, 1879; *JAd*, Oct., 1879; Samuel P. Abelow, *History of Brooklyn Jewry*, Brooklyn, 1937, p. 318; American Hebrew Association, *AB*, May, 1881.

⁹⁹ *AI*, Dec. 13, 1879; *JAd*, Jan., 1879.

¹⁰⁰ *AH*, Nov. 21, 1879; New York Y.M.H.A., *Minutes*, Nov. 7, 1878.

¹⁰¹ *AI*, Nov. 1, 1879; *JMes*, June 21, 1878.

¹⁰² *AI*, June 28, 1878; Oct. 25, 1879; *JMes*, July 12, 1878.

¹⁰³ *JMes*, Feb. 1, 1878.

¹⁰⁴ *AI*, March 8, 1878.

The Harlem association communicated with the New York Y. M. H. A. and asked to be recognized as a branch. The latter organization replied that it had no power under its constitution to organize branches, and urged the new organization to adopt another name. The Harlem Y.M.H.A. was merged with the New York Y. M. H. A. in 1885.¹⁰⁵

The opening lecture in the course presented by the Louisville Y. M. H. A. in 1878 was delivered by Rabbi Emil G. Hirsch, who was described as the "father of the association."

The combined offices of secretary and treasurer of the Chattanooga, Tenn., Y. M. H. A., in 1878, were held by Adolph S. Ochs, late publisher of the *New York Times*.

The Macon, Ga., Y. M. H. A. published a weekly journal, *The Light*.¹⁰⁶

1879.

Oakland, Calif. (1879-1882)¹⁰⁷; Portland, Ore.¹⁰⁸; Boston Young Men's Hebrew Union (active)¹⁰⁹; Dallas, Texas (1879-1890)¹¹⁰; San Antonio, Texas (active)¹¹¹; Pottsville, Pa.¹¹²; Rome, Ga., Jewish Young Men's Association¹¹³; Troy, N. Y.¹¹⁴; Wheeling, W. Va.¹¹⁵

The Dallas Y. M. H. A. erected the first association building in 1887; however, the association was converted into a social club in 1890.¹¹⁶

The new quarters and library of the Troy, N. Y., Y.M.H.A.

¹⁰⁵ New York Y.M.H.A., *Minutes*, June 16, 1878; Aug. 7, 1885.

¹⁰⁶ *JAd*, May, 1879.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, Nov., 1881; *AI*, Oct. 20, 1882.

¹⁰⁸ *AI*, Nov. 28, 1879; *JMes*, Aug. 13, 1880.

¹⁰⁹ *JAd*, May, 1879.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Nov., 1879.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹¹² *AI*, April 11, 1879.

¹¹³ *JAd*, May, 1879.

¹¹⁴ *AI*, April 18, 1879.

¹¹⁵ *JAd*, Nov., 1879.

¹¹⁶ *AI*, Dec. 17, 1886; July 22, 1887; Nov. 25, 1887; Oct. 16, 1890.

were opened in 1879 with an address by the Honorable Simon W. Rosendale of Albany.

1880.

St. Louis, Mo.¹¹⁷; Cleveland, Ohio, Young Men's Hebrew Union¹¹⁸; Altoona, Pa.¹¹⁹; Buffalo, N. Y.¹²⁰; Danville, Va.¹²¹; Young Men's Association of Temple Beth-El, New York City¹²²; Mount Vernon, Ind.¹²³; Quincy, Ill.¹²⁴; Washington, D. C.¹²⁵; and Donaldsonville, La.¹²⁶; Y. M. H. A.'s were also active in Atlanta, Ga.¹²⁷; Chicago, Ill.¹²⁸; Albany, N. Y.¹²⁹; Bradford, Pa.¹³⁰; Cumberland, Md.¹³¹; and probably in Providence, R. I.¹³²

The *Statistics of the Jews of the United States*, published in 1880 by the Board of Delegates of American Israelites and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, devoted a special section to Y. M. H. A.'s and listed twenty-five associations. The data was based on statistics gathered from 1876 to 1878.¹³³

¹¹⁷ *AI*, Feb. 13, 1880; *AH*, Jan. 30 and Feb. 6, 1880.

¹¹⁸ *JMes*, Nov. 12, 1880; *AI*, Nov. 26, 1880.

¹¹⁹ *AH*, Feb. 13, 1880.

¹²⁰ *AH*, May 7, 1880; *AI*, April 16 and Nov. 19, 1880.

¹²¹ *AI*, Feb. 20, 1880.

¹²² *Ibid.*, April 9, 1880.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, Nov. 12, 1880.

¹²⁴ *JMes*, Nov. 19, 1880.

¹²⁵ *AI*, Dec. 17, 1880.

¹²⁶ Board of Delegates of American Israelites and Union of American Hebrew Congregations, *Statistics of Jews of United States*, p. 59; New York Y.M.H.A., *Minutes*, June 20, 1881.

¹²⁷ See note 126 and *JMes*, Jan. 30, 1881; American Hebrew Association, *AB*, May, 1881.

¹²⁸ See note 126, *supra*.

¹²⁹ New York Y.M.H.A., *Minutes*, June 20, 1881.

¹³⁰ *JMes*, Jan. 30, 1881.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*

¹³² Philadelphia Y.M.H.A., *Minutes*, May 6, 1880.

¹³³ Board of Delegates of American Israelites and Union of American Hebrew Congregations, *Statistics of Jews of United States*, p. 59.

The Cleveland Young Men's Hebrew Union was the result of steps to consolidate many small literary societies and organizations.¹³⁴

The Mount Vernon, Ind., Association raised \$2,500 in 1880 towards the construction of a Temple.

1881.

Hornellsville, N. Y.¹³⁵; Wilmington, N. C.¹³⁶; Memphis, Tenn.¹³⁷; Boston, Mass.¹³⁸; Yorkville, in New York City,¹³⁹; San Francisco Young Men's Hebrew Union¹⁴⁰; Grand Rapids, Mich.¹⁴¹; Mobile, Ala.¹⁴²; and probably Nashville, Tenn.¹⁴³

The American Hebrew Association (the first national organization of Y. M. H. A.'s) in its *Bulletin*, May, 1881, presented an incomplete list of thirty-two Y. M. H. A.'s.

1882.

Jacksonville, Fla.¹⁴⁴; Scranton, Pa.¹⁴⁵; Hoboken, N. J.¹⁴⁶; Petersburg, Va.¹⁴⁷; Buffalo, N. Y., Jewish Young Men's Association¹⁴⁸; Alexandria, La.¹⁴⁹

¹³⁴ *JMes*, Nov. 5, 1880.

¹³⁵ *AI*, March 11, 1881; *JMes*, April 1, 1881.

¹³⁶ *JAd*, March, 1881; *AI*, March 18, 1881; *JMes*, March 18, 1881; *AH*, March 25, 1881.

¹³⁷ *JMes*, June 24, 1881.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, Oct. 28, 1881, and Jan. 13, 1882.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, Dec. 2, 1881.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, Dec. 9, 1881; *JAd*, Dec., 1881.

¹⁴¹ American Hebrew Association, *AB*, Nov., 1881.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*

¹⁴³ *JAd*, Oct., 1881.

¹⁴⁴ *AI*, Nov. 3, 1882.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, June 2, 1882.

¹⁴⁶ *JAd*, Oct., 1882.

¹⁴⁷ *AI*, March 17, 1882; *JAd*, Aug., 1882.

¹⁴⁸ Certificate of Incorporation, State of New York, April 3, 1882.

¹⁴⁹ Leo Shpall, *The Jews in Louisiana*, New Orleans, La., 1936, p. 31.

1883.

Elizabeth, N. J.¹⁵⁰; Downtown Branch of New York Y. M. H. A.¹⁵¹; Kansas City, Mo. (1883-1887)¹⁵²; Columbus, Ohio¹⁵³; Milwaukee, Wis.¹⁵⁴

1884.

Minneapolis, Minn.¹⁵⁵; Houston, Tex. (active)¹⁵⁶; Mobile, Ala.¹⁵⁷; and probably St. Paul, Minn.¹⁵⁸

1886.

Jackson, Miss.¹⁵⁹; Omaha, Neb. (1886-1890)¹⁶⁰; Brooklyn, N. Y.¹⁶¹; Little Rock, Ark. (reorganized 1890)¹⁶²; Syracuse, N. Y. (reorganized 1890).¹⁶³

1887.

Denver, Col.¹⁶⁴; Rochester, N. Y., Young Men's Jewish Association¹⁶⁵; St. Louis, Mo.¹⁶⁶; Olean, N. Y.¹⁶⁷; Lafayette, Ind.¹⁶⁸; Charleston, S. C.¹⁶⁹;

¹⁵⁰ Elizabeth, N. J., *Y.M. & Y.W.H.A. Golden Jubilee*, May 21, 1933.

¹⁵¹ *AI*, Feb. 2, 1883.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, Jan. 4, 1884; May 6, 1887.

¹⁵³ *JMes*, Nov. 9, 1883.

¹⁵⁴ *AI*, Feb. 29, 1884; *JMes*, Feb. 8, 1884.

¹⁵⁵ *JMes*, Jan. 25, 1884.

¹⁵⁶ *AI*, Feb. 1, 1884.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, June 6, 1884.

¹⁵⁸ *JMes*, April 18, 1884.

¹⁵⁹ *AI*, March 12, 1886.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, Dec. 24, 1886; Feb. 27, 1890.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, Feb. 25, 1887; Jan. 17, 1889.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, Aug. 3, 1886; *JMes*, Jan. 16, 1891.

¹⁶³ *AI*, Nov. 5, 1886; Nov. 13, 1890; Feb. 12, 1891; *JMes*, March 25, 1887.

¹⁶⁴ *JMes*, June 14, 1889; *AI*, April 3, 1890.

¹⁶⁵ *Jewish Tidings*, Rochester, N. Y., Feb. 5, 1887; *JMes*, June 15, 1888; Dec. 28, 1888.

¹⁶⁶ *AI*, Nov. 18, 1887.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, Dec. 2, 1887.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, Dec. 28, 1887.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, May 6, 1887; Dec. 26, 1889.

Wichita, Kan.¹⁷⁰; Canton, Miss.¹⁷¹; Montgomery, Ala.¹⁷²; Waco, Tex.¹⁷³; Birmingham, Ala.¹⁷⁴; and Greenpoint, Brooklyn, N. Y.¹⁷⁵

The St. Louis Y. M. H. A. of 1887 was organized by Russian Jews and was not affiliated with the earlier Y. M. H. A. of 1880.

1888.

New York Young Women's Hebrew Association¹⁷⁶; Fort Scott, Kan.¹⁷⁷; Los Angeles, Calif. (active)¹⁷⁸; Augusta, Ga.¹⁷⁹; Selma, Ala.¹⁸⁰; Fort Worth, Tex. (active)¹⁸¹; Rome, Ga.¹⁸²; Texarkana, Tex. (active).¹⁸³

The Young Women's Hebrew Association of New York (the first organization under this name) was organized by the Y. M. H. A. as an auxiliary and met in its rooms. Its president was Julia Richman, the well-known educator.¹⁸⁴

1889.

Cleveland, Ohio (1889-1899)¹⁸⁵; Scranton, Pa.¹⁸⁶; Hebrew Institute (Educational Alliance). New

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, May 20, 1887.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, Jan. 6, 1888.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, April 6, 1888.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, Aug. 17, 1888; Nov. 20, 1890.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, July 8 and July 22, 1887.

¹⁷⁵ *JMes*, Nov. 22, 1889.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, Nov. 16, 1888.

¹⁷⁷ *AI*, Jan. 10, 1889.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, Jan. 24, 1889; Feb. 17, 1888.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, Aug. 24, 1888.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, Jan. 20, 1888.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, Jan. 23, 1888.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, June 15, 1888.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, Oct. 5, 1888.

¹⁸⁴ *JMes*, June 14, 1889; *AI*, April 3, 1890.

¹⁸⁵ *JEn*, v. 4, p. 119; *AI*, Jan. 3 and Jan. 10, 1889.

¹⁸⁶ *JMes*, March 7, 1890.

York City; Appleton, Wis.¹⁸⁷; Trinidad, Col.¹⁸⁸; Providence, R. I.¹⁸⁹; Greenville, Miss.¹⁹⁰; Emanu-El Sisterhood, New York City.

1890.

Louisville, Ky.¹⁹¹; Baltimore, Md. (1890-1894)¹⁹²; Gainesville, Tex.¹⁹³; Vicksburg, Miss.¹⁹⁴; Yonkers, N. Y.¹⁹⁵; the Atlanta, Ga., and Hamilton, Ont., associations were also active.¹⁹⁶

The above chronology, which is probably incomplete, is sufficient indication of the extent of the early Y. M. H. A. movement. The period up to 1890 marks the peak of the first stage in its development. Over a score of Y. M. H. A.'s were organized between 1854 and 1874. Approximately sixty associations were organized between 1874 and 1880, and a national organization of Y. M. H. A.'s was attempted in 1880. From 1880 to 1890 (when a second attempt was made to organize nationally) at least sixty more associations made their appearance.

These early associations enjoyed the support of the community leaders of the period, and, in particular, of the rabbis who in many communities were responsible for the establishment of Y. M. H. A.'s and frequently themselves served as presidents. On the other hand, criticism was often expressed that Y. M. H. A.'s devoted themselves too largely to social activities. Nevertheless, associations continued to appear

¹⁸⁷ *AI*, Jan. 15, 1891; Philadelphia Y.M.H.A., *The Associate*, Nov., 1889.

¹⁸⁸ *AI*, Nov. 14, 1889.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, Sept. 26, 1889.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, Nov. 26, 1889; *JMes*, Jan. 31, 1890.

¹⁹¹ *JMes*, Jan. 31, 1890.

¹⁹² *AI*, April 30, 1890; Nov. 29, 1894.

¹⁹³ *JMes*, Sept. 12, 1890.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, Jan. 23, 1891.

¹⁹⁵ Yonkers, N. Y., Jewish Community Center, *Dedication Work Program*, April 14-21, 1929.

¹⁹⁶ United Y.M.H.A.'s of America, *Abstract of Proceedings of the First Convention*, Cincinnati, Ohio, July 6, 7, 8, 1890.

at the same rapid rate and it would probably be difficult to find a Jewish community during this period that had not attempted the organization of a Y. M. H. A. Yet all this growth took place largely under volunteer leadership. Despite the lack of a national organization, the next two decades were to witness intensive growth as well as the beginnings of stability.

V.

THE AMERICAN HEBREW ASSOCIATION (1880-1883).

The American Hebrew Association, the first attempt to form a national organization, probably represents a peak in the history of the early Y. M. H. A. movement. As already indicated, beginning in 1874 and 1875, the movement underwent great expansion and attracted widespread attention throughout the country. Many editorials were written in Jewish weeklies of the period on the importance of the Y. M. H. A. movement; a great deal of space was devoted to its activities; and a demand for a national organization arose. In 1878, Isaac Mayer Wise devoted a long editorial in the *American Israelite* to the Y. M. H. A.'s, and after outlining a suitable program for the movement, recommended that

the various associations by correspondence should have a common program for every season to comprise the above subjects; some or all; so that professional lecturers could deliver the same lecture before all the associations and give all the benefit of this work.¹⁹⁷

Extensive correspondence developed among the associations. The minutes of the New York and Philadelphia Y. M. H. A.'s reported frequent requests for copies of their constitutions and bylaws. The Philadelphia Y. M. H. A. regularly sent copies of its programs to all other associations¹⁹⁸ and carried news of activities of other associations

¹⁹⁷ *AI*, March 15, 1878.

¹⁹⁸ Philadelphia Y.M.H.A., *Minutes*, May 16, 1878.

in *The Association Review*, published during 1877-1878. In 1878, both the New York¹⁹⁹ and the New Orleans²⁰⁰ Y. M. H. A.'s sent circulars to other associations regarding the formation of a national organization of Y. M. H. A.'s. The Philadelphia and Louisville²⁰¹ Y. M. H. A.'s took similar steps in 1879, as did the Baltimore²⁰² Y. M. H. A. early in 1880. The Philadelphia Y. M. H. A. finally succeeded during the same year in bringing about action by proposing a definite method of procedure.

The Philadelphia Y. M. H. A. was undoubtedly encouraged in this step by the response it received to its proposal early in 1880 that a memorial on behalf of the Russian Jews be signed by the president and secretary of every Y. M. H. A. and sent to the United States Secretary of State.²⁰³ The signatures of twenty-three associations were obtained including the Pittsburgh, Pa.; St. Louis, Mo.; Ahavath Chesed, New York City; Louisville, Ky.; Baltimore, Md.; Wilkes-Barre, Pa.; Hartford, Conn.; Macon, Ga.; Buffalo, N. Y.; Newark, N. J.; Troy, N. Y.; Atlanta, Ga.; Donaldsonville, La.; New Orleans, La.; Portland, Ore.; San Francisco, Calif.; Altoona, Pa.; Madison, Ind.; and Harlem, New York City, Y. M. H. A.'s and the Young Men's Hebrew Union of New York City.²⁰⁴ However, the New York Y. M. H. A. refused to sign in deference to the Board of Delegates on Civil Rights of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. The proposed memorial was never submitted to the State Department; and bad feeling developed between the New York and Philadelphia associations.²⁰⁵

¹⁹⁹ *AI*, May 24, 1878; New York Y.M.H.A., *Minutes*, May 12, 1878; June 3, 1878.

²⁰⁰ Philadelphia Y.M.H.A., *Minutes*, Nov. 7, 1878.

²⁰¹ *AI*, June 13, 1879.

²⁰² *AH*, Jan. 30, 1880.

²⁰³ Philadelphia Y.M.H.A., *Minutes*, April 4, 1880; May 6, 1880.

²⁰⁴ *AH*, April 23, 1880; *AI*, May 28, 1880.

²⁰⁵ New York Y.M.H.A., *Minutes*, April 13, 1880.

The Philadelphia Y. M. H. A. plan proposed briefly that

- 1 — Kindred societies under the name Y. M. H. A. or any other title be included;
- 2 — The immediate objective be the publication of a national periodical to be distributed to all members as a medium of propaganda, etc.;
- 3 — An assessment of 25 cents per member was suggested;
- 4 — All organizations were to have but one vote on the general committee, regardless of size; and
- 5 — The plan was to go into effect as soon as the assent of societies representing 1,200 members was obtained.²⁰⁶

The New York Y. M. H. A. replied, objecting to a union merely for publication purposes and proposing a co-ordinating body.²⁰⁷ When, in August, 1880, the New York association announced its own plans for a Union of Y. M. H. A.'s as preliminary to the establishment of a national organization of American Jewry, the secretary of the Philadelphia Y. M. H. A., Solomon Solis-Cohen, wrote to a Jewish weekly in New York: "Allow me to inform you that our friends of your city can save all their trouble, as a union is an accomplished fact," and stated (somewhat optimistically) that all the Y. M. H. A.'s except those located in New York were members.²⁰⁸ The New York Y. M. H. A. finally decided to send its past president, Daniel P. Hays, to the convention with instructions to oppose equal representation on the central committee.²⁰⁹

The convention met October 24, 1880, at Philadelphia.²¹⁰ Delegates representing the following ten associations were present: New York, N. Y.; Philadelphia, Pa.; San Francisco, Calif.; Oakland, Calif.; Young Men's Association of Temple

²⁰⁶ *AH*, May 14, 1880; *JMes*, Aug. 27, 1880.

²⁰⁷ New York Y.M.H.A., *Minutes*, May 18, 1880.

²⁰⁸ *AH*, Sept. 17, 1880.

²⁰⁹ New York Y.M.H.A., *Minutes*, Oct. 20, 1880.

²¹⁰ *AI*, Oct. 29, 1880; *AH*, Oct. 29, 1880; Nov. 5, 1880; American Hebrew Association, *AB*, May, 1881.

Beth-El, New York City; Young Men's Association of Temple Ahavath Chesed, New York City; Portland, Ore.; Macon, Ga.; Harlem, New York City; and T. J. B., St. Louis. Letters approving the objects of the meeting and stating that affiliation was under consideration were received from the Louisville, Ky.; Madison, Ind.; New Orleans, La.; Wilkes-Barre, Pa.; Troy, N. Y.; Buffalo, N. Y.; Cincinnati, Ohio; and St. Louis, Mo., Y. M. H. A.'s and the Jefferson Literary Association of Richmond, Va. The name "American Hebrew Association" was adopted, and it was decided that all societies be equally represented by one delegate; that a per capita tax of twenty-five cents be assessed; and that a bulletin be published. Proposals for a lecture bureau for the interchange of lecturers, and musical and literary talent, and for interchange of membership privileges were referred to the committee on constitution. The meeting then adjourned to be continued in New York on November 21, 1880.

At the New York meeting, delegates representing fourteen associations were present, including Philadelphia, Pa.; Newark, N. J.; Macon, Ga.; Wilkes-Barre, Pa.; St. Louis, Mo.; San Francisco, Calif.; Oakland, Calif.; Portland, Ore.; Madison, Ind.; and five New York City associations (Y. M. H. A.; Young Men's Hebrew Union; Harlem; and the Young Men's Associations of Temples Beth-El and Anshe Chesed). The Brooklyn Young Men's Hebrew Union was also represented, but not as participating.²¹¹ These fourteen organizations had a combined membership of three thousand. It should be noted that six organizations were represented by proxies appointed by the convention secretary. The convention, despite strenuous opposition by the New York Y. M. H. A., confirmed the previous decision that all constituent societies be represented equally by one delegate (Hays proposed one delegate for every three hundred members) and also voted against including "the protection of Jewish interests" among

²¹¹ *AI*, Nov. 26, 1880; *JAd*, Nov., 1880; American Hebrew Association, *AB*, May, 1881.

the objects of the national body. The convention then proceeded to elect the following permanent officers: president, Daniel P. Hays, New York; vice-presidents, Dr. David Franklin, San Francisco, and Franklin Marx, Newark; corresponding secretary, Nathan Ullman, Beth-El Young Men's Association, New York; recording secretary, S. Solis-Cohen, Philadelphia; and treasurer, Alexander Fleisher, Philadelphia. Newark was selected for the 1881 convention, and the national office was located in New York. Mr. Hays immediately resigned from the presidency.

A week later the New York Y. M. H. A. voted to withdraw. An acrimonious correspondence developed in the Jewish press, and the New York Y. M. H. A. issued a public circular explaining its position²¹² in which the following points were made:

- 1 — The New York Y. M. H. A. with 1450 members should have greater numerical representation than small associations;
- 2 — The constitution of the national organization should include "the protection of Jewish interests" among its objectives (this referred to the plan of the New York Y. M. H. A. to establish a central representative Jewish body for the entire country);
- 3 — The compulsory per capita tax of 25 cents was deemed excessive;
- 4 — The meeting was not representative (referring to the use of proxies); and
- 5 — Admission should have been denied to the strictly congregational societies.

The *American Israelite* commented editorially as follows:

The Y. M. H. A. of New York City is out with a circular to explain why it refuses to join the Union of Y. M. H. A.'s and we suppose the Philadelphia Association will reply thereto. This "tempest in a teapot" may be interesting to the participants, but we fear the rest of mankind care very little about it so we must respectfully decline to give it the use of our columns.²¹³

²¹² New York Y. M. H. A., *Minutes*, Nov. 23, 1880; Jan. 11, 1881; *AH*, Jan. 14, 1881.

²¹³ *AI*, Jan. 28, 1881.

The Oakland and San Francisco Y. M. H. A.'s approved the stand taken by Mr. Hays²¹⁴; and the Harlem²¹⁵ and Buffalo²¹⁶ Y. M. H. A.'s withdrew as members.

The American Hebrew Association was thus doomed at its very inception, but it continued to fight a brave and losing battle. Its executive committee elected Cyrus L. Sulzberger, president, and Dr. David Franklin, chairman of the executive committee.²¹⁷ It fixed the per capita tax at twenty cents, and in May, 1881, began the publication of the *Association Bulletin*. The 1881 convention was held in Newark, N. J., September 18, 1881.²¹⁸ Delegates from nine organizations were present, representing Y. M. H. A.'s in Philadelphia, Pa.; Newark, N. J.; Wilkes-Barre, Pa.; Portland, Ore.; Oakland, Calif.; Louisville, Ky.; Dallas, Tex.; and the two New York congregational associations. President Sulzberger said in his report:

When I was called to the position vacated by the representative of the New York Association, I was called to the presidency of an organization divided by internal strife and opposed by the largest and wealthiest Y. M. H. A.'s in the country. What with our inexperience, having the records of no similar organization to guide us, and the open hostility of the Y. M. H. A. of New York, which spared no effort to prevent our success, the task devolving upon us was neither an easy nor an agreeable one.

The president reported that the New Orleans, Nashville and Memphis associations were in the process of organization and prepared to join the national body. Fifteen organizations were affiliated, ten of which had paid dues for the year (however, over half the total income was derived from the Philadelphia Y. M. H. A. which paid \$125 in dues for its six hundred members). Dues were reduced to one-

²¹⁴ *AH*, Jan. 7, 1881.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, March 11, 1881.

²¹⁶ *AI*, July 15, 1881.

²¹⁷ *AH*, Jan. 14, 1881.

²¹⁸ *AI*, Sept. 30, 1881; *Ad*, Oct., 1881; *AH*, Sept. 23, 1881; American Hebrew Association, *AB*, Nov., 1881.

quarter of regular dues, or a minimum of five dollars for associations not desiring the national publication. In an effort to attract the larger associations, representation was changed to one delegate for every four hundred members. Mr. Philip Cowen of New York, publisher of the *American Hebrew*, introduced an amendment to the constitution to set up admission standards to the American Hebrew Association by limiting membership to associations "conducted on the same general plan as the New York and Philadelphia Y. M. H. A.'s." He explained that the purpose was

to keep out any but real Y. M. H. A.'s; that societies meeting occasionally only and not having a permanent reading room and library (as for instance, literary, dramatic, and congregational societies) should be excluded from the Union.

The amendment was tabled; had it been adopted it would have barred the Young Men's Association of Temple Anshe Chesed, New York City, represented by Cyrus L. Sulzberger. The convention re-elected Mr. Sulzberger its president, and chose the following officers: vice-presidents, S. B. Hyneman, Madison, Ind., and Dr. A. S. Isaacs, Macon, Ga.; corresponding secretary, Max Cohen, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.; recording secretary, H. P. Rosenbach, Dallas, Tex., treasurer, Nathan Ullman, Beth-El, New York City. It will be noted that proxies served as officers, and residents of Philadelphia and New York were elected to represent associations in other communities.

An effort to arouse interest in the movement was made early in 1882. The Sabbath preceding Passover was designated as "Association Day"; the rabbis were asked to deliver sermons at the morning services, and the various Y.M.H.A.'s were requested to conduct mass meetings and celebrations in the evening.²¹⁹

A third convention was held in Philadelphia, Pa., September 18, 1882.²²⁰ Delegates were sent by Philadelphia,

²¹⁹ *AI*, April 7, 1882; *JAd*, April, 1882; *JMes*, March 31, 1882.

²²⁰ *AI*, Sept. 22, 1882.

Pa.; Wilkes-Barre, Pa.; Madison, Ind.; Portland, Ore.; Jacksonville, Fla.; Donaldsonville, La.; and Galveston, Tex., Y. M. H. A.'s and the two New York congregational societies. A deficit of \$100 was reported for the year. It was decided to change the annual meeting from September to June; and to shift the national office from New York to Philadelphia. The president and recording secretary (Messrs. Sulzberger and Rosenbach) were re-elected; also elected were William Fisher, New York City, and Emanuel Cohen, Philadelphia, Pa., as vice-presidents; Louis Long, Wilkes-Barre, Pa., as corresponding secretary; and Jacob Singer, Philadelphia, Pa., as treasurer.

The *Association Bulletin*, the national publication of the American Hebrew Association, issued bimonthly from May, 1881, to the spring of 1883, is worthy of special mention. It was edited by the versatile Dr. Solomon Solis-Cohen. Each issue contained editorials, literary and program material, and, in a section called "The Spirit of the Union," notes on the activities of local associations. The leading articles consisted usually of material from lectures delivered before various associations on Jewish subjects, and were intended to be similarly used by other associations. The subjects presented included: "Isaac Leeser," by Mayer Sulzberger; "A Hebrew Renaissance," by Abram S. Isaacs; "American Israel," by Cyrus L. Sulzberger; "A Trio of Characters," by Jacob Voorsanger; "Mediaeval Jews"; "A Talk," by the Rev. Sabato Morais; "The Crusades," by Mark Ash; "Menasseh ben Israel," by H. Pereira Mendes; "Hebrew Jurisprudence," by Daniel P. Hays; "Chips from a Talmudic Workshop," by the Rev. Dr. M. Jastrow; "An Hour in a Beth Hamidrash," by the Rev. Dr. F. de Sola Mendes; and translations from the Hebrew of Jehudah Halevi, by Solomon Solis-Cohen. The former president of the New York Y.M.H.A., Daniel P. Hays, was among the contributors, despite the opposition of the New York Association to the American Hebrew Association.

The articles of a program nature included a statement of

the aims of the American Hebrew Association by its president, Cyrus L. Sulzberger; a history of the Y. M. H. A. movement (which described the Young Men's Hebrew Literary Association of Philadelphia, organized in 1850, as the first association); "How to Organize a Y. M. H. A.," by Solomon Solis-Cohen; "Themes" (subjects for essays and debates), by Max Cohen; "Hints to Library Committees" and "Books to Buy," by H. P. Rosenbach; and "Jewish Lectures," by Cyrus L. Sulzberger.

The section on "The Spirit of the Union" did not limit itself to associations affiliated with the American Hebrew Association. Full accounts were carried of the activities of the New York and other unaffiliated Y. M. H. A.'s. The *Bulletin* also did not hesitate to criticize editorially one of its constituent associations, the Louisville Y. M. H. A., for inviting Felix Adler, who had recently organized the Ethical Culture Society, to deliver an address.

Strenuous efforts were made to establish the American Hebrew Association on a permanent basis. An "Association Sabbath" was promoted in 1882. A literary bureau was organized to arrange lecture courses and supply speakers at nominal expense. The executive committee issued circulars to prominent people in fifty cities to stimulate the organization of Y. M. H. A.'s. President Sulzberger addressed unaffiliated organizations in behalf of the national movement. During its existence, the American Hebrew Association was in contact with approximately forty to fifty associations, although not more than half of this total was ever affiliated with the national organization. Cyrus Sulzberger and Solomon Solis-Cohen, the active leaders of the national association, were then young men of about twenty-five years of age, and had not yet attained the recognition and widespread influence in American Jewish life which came to them in later years. An additional handicap was the refusal of many large and influential Y. M. H. A.'s to join the national organization.

Despite all these efforts, the end was near. The *Association Bulletin* appeared for the last time in the spring of 1883. About this time the Philadelphia Y. M. H. A., the chief supporter of the national organization, began to experience financial difficulties, and the American Hebrew Association was dissolved. It is, of course, idle to speculate upon the future of the Y. M. H. A. movement had this effort to establish a national organization succeeded; a permanent national movement was not founded until over thirty years later. The Y. M. H. A.'s at this time (as well as at the time of the second attempt in 1890 to found a national organization) were completely administered by volunteers. No professional executives other than librarians were employed and only one association owned facilities. On the other hand, the movement had become extensive, encompassing many associations with large memberships. It had engendered widespread interest throughout the country, and, even more important, its leaders were community-minded idealists, who might have arrived at the modern Jewish Center concept, had they joined forces.

In passing, it should be noted that the animosities engendered between the New York and Philadelphia Y. M. H. A.'s disappeared quickly. Within a very short time, amicable relations were resumed. Cyrus Sulzberger became an active leader in the New York Y. M. H. A.; and he, along with Mayer Sulzberger, first president of the Philadelphia Y. M. H. A., and Dr. Solomon Solis-Cohen appeared frequently as lecturers before the New York Y. M. H. A.

VI.

"THE PROTECTION OF JEWISH INTERESTS."

One of the most interesting chapters in the early history of the Y. M. H. A.'s is to be found in their attempts to organize a democratic representative body for American Jewry as well as to act as spokesman for the American Jewish

community. At the 1875 annual meeting of the New York Y. M. H. A. (only one year after its organization) a motion was presented

that a committee be appointed to consider the feasibility of organizing a Central Board of the American Jews to take cognizance of any and all matters affecting the welfare of our co-religionists.²²¹

As a result, the clause, "the protection of Hebrew interests," was included in the constitution as one of the objectives of the Y. M. H. A. It is of interest to note that a similar objective — the protection of Jewish interests — began to appear thereafter in other Y. M. H. A. constitutions which were modeled after that of the New York Y. M. H. A. An identical clause was incorporated in the early constitutions of the St. Louis²²² and Boston associations.

During this period, the reform congregations were making great progress and the so-called *Minhag America* was being widely adopted by congregations. Not being able to foresee the tremendous influx of Jewish immigration during the years from 1880 to approximately 1910, it seemed that the new ritual might eventually sweep the entire American Jewish community. Steps were accordingly taken to establish the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, founded in 1873, as the central Jewish body for all American Jewry. In 1878, the Board of Delegates of American Israelites, which had functioned since 1859 as the representative body for the American Jewish community, gave up its independent status and was merged with the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, which by this time included nearly half of all the congregations in the country. An unsuccessful attempt was also made to include the Jewish Theological Seminary Association.²²³ However, even prior to this merger,

²²¹ New York Y. M. H. A., *Minutes*, May 2, 1875.

²²² Articles of Incorporation and Constitution, March 17, 1880, Secretary of State, Missouri.

²²³ Union of American Hebrew Congregations, *Annual Report*, 1877 Cincinnati, Ohio, p. 345.

the Board of Delegates had not been regarded as sufficiently representative. Upon voting to merge with the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the Board of Delegates recommended that Y. M. H. A.'s and other organizations be given representation; however, no action was taken upon this recommendation.²²⁴ The merger with the Union of American Hebrew Congregations automatically limited representation to the liberal or reform congregations, and agitation for a more democratic central Jewish body continued.

At the 1880 annual meeting of the New York Y. M. H. A., Mr. Samuel Greenbaum (later to become a president of the association and a Justice of the New York Supreme Court) offered the following resolution:

Whereas, Sec. 1, Art. II of the constitution declares that among the objects of the Association is the protection of Jewish interests. Resolved that the Board of Directors be instructed to take measures at the earliest practicable date, looking to the formation of an Alliance or Union of American Israelites, to take cognizance of and action upon all matters of Jewish interest, which shall embrace in its representation every Jewish organization.²²⁵

The motion was passed and the *American Hebrew* said editorially, "The Y. M. H. A. through the Union [referring to the proposed national organization of Y. M. H. A.'s] and the Universal Alliance will control the future of Hebrew interests in America."²²⁶ However, there was opposition within the New York Y. M. H. A. to the proposed step and reluctance to oppose the existing Board of Delegates on Civil Rights of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. The president of the Y. M. H. A., A. L. Sanger, who was also vice-president of the Executive Committee of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and secretary of its Board of Delegates, had strenuously opposed the resolution. The president of the Y. M. H. A. was finally instructed

²²⁴ *JRec*, Nov. 30, 1877.

²²⁵ *AH*, May 14, 1880; *AI*, May 21, 1880.

²²⁶ *AH*, May 21, 1880.

to confer with the Executive Committee of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations regarding extension of scope to permit of representation from all Jewish associations, otherwise the Y. M. H. A. would form such a body.²²⁷ A week later, in July, 1880, the Executive Committee of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations decided to present to its annual convention a constitutional amendment providing for local committees, composed of representatives from the leading fraternal orders and the Y. M. H. A.'s, to supplement the work of its Board of Delegates.²²⁸ Parenthetically, it should be noted that the Union of American Hebrew Congregations convention, held in July, 1881, rejected the proposed amendment, probably because it was evident that the new national organization of Y. M. H. A.'s was a failure.²²⁹ Not satisfied with the proposed amendment, the New York Y. M. H. A. decided in August, 1880, to circularize all the Y. M. H. A.'s for the purpose of forming a Union of Y. M. H. A.'s as preliminary to a Union of American Israelites.²³⁰ As previously noted, the efforts of the New York Y. M. H. A. to establish a democratic central Jewish agency, and to include "the protection of Jewish interests" among the objectives of the American Hebrew Association was one of the issues that led to the failure of the national organization of Y. M. H. A.'s.

The Y. M. H. A. movement also came into conflict with the Union of American Hebrew Congregations in 1880, when the Philadelphia Y. M. H. A. attempted to present to the United States Secretary of State a memorial on behalf of the Russian Jews, to be signed by the presidents and secretaries of all Y. M. H. A.'s. The self-importance felt by the

²²⁷ *Ibid.*, July 9, 1880; New York Y. M. H. A., *Minutes*, July 7, 1880.

²²⁸ Union of American Hebrew Congregations, *Annual Report*, July, 1880, p. 909.

²²⁹ *AH*, July 15, 1881; Union of American Hebrew Congregations, *Annual Report*, July, 1881, p. 1116.

²³⁰ *AH*, Sept. 3, 1880.

Y. M. H. A.'s of the period is indicated by the opening sentence of the memorial (which was prepared by Solomon Solis-Cohen, secretary of the Philadelphia Y. M. H. A.):

The Y. M. H. A.'s of America, in behalf of 250,000 Jewish citizens of the United States, respectfully call your attention to the following report²³¹

The Board of Directors of the New York Y. M. H. A. then began its break with the Philadelphia Y. M. H. A. by refusing, by a majority of only one vote, to sign the memorial as it "deemed it inexpedient having learned unofficially that a similar memorial has been presented from another quarter."²³² A sharp controversy was conducted in the Jewish press and the New York association was accused of jealousy in that it did not originate the memorial, and also of submitting to pressure by the Board of Delegates on Civil Rights of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, which was the other "quarter" mentioned. Although the Philadelphia Y. M. H. A. succeeded in obtaining the signatures of twenty-three Y. M. H. A.'s, it finally yielded because the Board of Delegates had already taken similar action, and reluctantly decided not to present its memorial.

However, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations was again to be confronted by the new Y. M. H. A. movement. At the 1884 meeting of its Executive Committee, a report was presented by its "Commission on the State of American Judaism," of which Jacob H. Schiff was chairman. The other members of the commission included Simon W. Rosendale, Isaac Strouse, Adolphus S. Solomons, Mayer Sulzberger, Simon Wolf, Moses Schloss, B. Bettman and Isidor Bush. The commission had been appointed to consider whether it was advisable to call a national conference of American Jewry. The commission reported that it was not

²³¹ *Ibid.*, April 9, 1880.

²³² *Ibid.*, April 23, 1880; New York Y. M. H. A., *Minutes*, April 13, 1880.

desirable at this time to call the proposed national conference, but recommended:

★
the adoption of amendments to the Constitution and By-laws which will admit Young Men's Hebrew Associations to membership in the Union on a proper basis.

Although seven of the nine members of the commission approved the recommendation, an acrimonious discussion arose. The recommendation was opposed on the ground that the Union of American Hebrew Congregations was a congregational body only; that the Y. M. H. A.'s would outnumber the congregations and thus "the tail would wag the dog"; that many Y. M. H. A.'s were largely social organizations; and so forth. In the course of the discussion, Mr. Schiff said that

the Y. M. H. A.'s are better missionaries than nine-tenths of the congregations; that the New York association had done noble missionary work among the Russians last winter; that this New York association was a pattern association and there are many throughout the Union like it. Why should they not have a voice when congregations of smaller numbers are represented in the Union? He prophesied that if the report was not accepted, then the Union would lose much of its usefulness.²³³

The debate continued with great bitterness, and finally, in resentment at the treatment accorded the recommendation, Mr. Schiff, Simon Wolf and A. S. Solomons withdrew from the convention. After their departure, the recommendation was rejected.²³⁴ The fears of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations are not difficult to understand in view of the fact that it had been in existence for but a decade, that its affiliated congregations numbered one hundred and thirty in 1884, and the rapidly growing Y. M. H. A. movement seemed likely to approach that total. What the future of the

²³³ *AH*, July 18, 1884; *AI*, July 25, 1884.

²³⁴ Union of American Hebrew Congregations, *11th Annual Report*, July, 1884, pp. 1572-74.

Y. M. H. A. movement might have been, had the above plan been adopted, is interesting to conjecture.

A final attempt of the Y. M. H. A.'s to organize American Jewry was made in 1890, when a second effort was made to establish a national organization under the name, the United Young Men's Hebrew Association of America. Prior to the convention, the *American Israelite* recommended editorially that one of the objectives of the national organization of Y. M. H. A.'s be, "to form a central protective body."²³⁵ An article also appeared, written by Albert Strauss of Cleveland, a delegate to the convention, recommending as a major purpose of the new organization that it "become the representative Jewish organization of the country to defend our people against attacks."²³⁶ The convention adopted a constitution which included as one of the objectives, "To advance the interests of the Jewish cause by every means within its power." An extended debate took place, after which this objective was limited to the conducting of courses of study on Jewish literature in each association.

The new problems arising from the arrival of great numbers of Jewish immigrants tended to limit the community-wide aspirations of the early Y. M. H. A.'s. For the next two decades, until new groups began to develop their own institutions, the Y. M. H. A.'s were to function largely as Americanizing agencies on behalf of the immigrant groups.

VII.

THE UNITED YOUNG MEN'S HEBREW ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA (1890-1893).

In response to a call issued by the Birmingham, Ala., Y. M. H. A., a convention was held in Cincinnati, Ohio, July 7-9, 1890, for the purpose of organizing a national

²³⁵ *AI*, June 19, 1890.

²³⁶ *The Associate*, Philadelphia, June, 1890.

association.²³⁷ The following delegates were present: B. Wolff, Montgomery, Ala.; Albert Strauss, Charles Eisenman and Edward Gross, Cleveland, Ohio; Rev. Maurice Eisenberg, Samuel Ullman and M. V. Joseph, Birmingham, Ala.; Rev. Dr. Joseph Silverman, Louis K. Oppenheimer and Adolph W. Sommerfield, New York City; Lewis Godlove, Nathan Kaufman and M. Summerfield, St. Louis, Mo.; Rev. Dr. David Philipson, Rev. Alex. Geismar and Isadore Israel, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Rev. Edward S. Levy, Selma, Ala.; Rev. Charles Levi, Henry C. Ezekiel and Alfred M. Cohen, Cincinnati, Ohio; Rev. Dr. M. Samfield, L. G. Pape and Morris Sachs, Memphis, Tenn.; Dr. J. E. Sommerfield, Benjamin Mielziner and Samuel Gottlieb, Newark, N. J.; and L. Hexter and M. J. Goldsmith, Greenville, Miss. Some of the associations were apparently represented by proxies. Messages approving the purpose of the conference were received from the Hamilton, Ont., Louisville, Ky., and Atlanta, Ga., associations.

A constitution was adopted which provided that the new organization should be known as The United Young Men's Hebrew Association of America and included the following objectives:

- 1 — To constitute all Y. M. H. A.'s of America members of this body;
- 2 — To encourage the formation of such associations in localities where they did not as yet exist;
- 3 — To advance the interests of the Jewish cause by every means within its power;
- 4 — To encourage our Jewish youth to enter into mechanical trades and the learned professions; to establish or assist in maintaining an institution for technical education and manual training;
- 5 — To establish a bureau of employment among the various associations, for deserving Israelites;
- 6 — To form a lecture bureau from which to supply the various local associations with lectures.

²³⁷ United Y. M. H. A. of America, *Abstract of Proceedings of First Convention*, July 7-9, 1890; *AI*, July 10 and July 17, 1890.

The statement of objectives reflects the typical program of a Y. M. H. A. about 1890, as well as the manner in which the Jewish community was attempting to meet the problems presented by the immigrant groups. These objectives were restated in greater detail in the resolutions adopted. As previously stated, the desire to establish the Y. M. H. A.'s as a central Jewish agency still existed, and was expressed in the third objective, "to advance the interests of the Jewish cause." The convention after adopting this object, then proceeded carefully to limit its purpose to the establishment within each association of "a system of elementary studies which should embrace Jewish Literature, that is, Historical, Philosophical, Ethical, Biographical, and Belletristical; and general Literature." A Committee on Course of Studies was to be appointed to carry out the above object. The Executive Committee was instructed "to devise ways and means for the establishment or maintenance of an institution for technical education and manual training"; to establish a Lecture Bureau; to appoint a special committee, "which shall, twice a year, give out certain subjects for debate to the various associations"; to establish a central employment bureau; and to publish a pamphlet for the purpose of forming Y.M.H.A.'s in communities where associations did not exist. Another resolution also provided "that it is the sense of this Convention that all subordinate Associations should encourage the reception of women as auxiliaries thereto." The constitution also limited membership to organizations having or adopting the name Y. M. H. A., and fixed representation on the basis of one delegate for every thirty members. Each association was required to pay an initiation fee of five dollars, and a per capita tax of ten cents per member.

The following permanent officers were then chosen: president, Alfred M. Cohen, Cincinnati, Ohio; vice-presidents, Rev. Dr. Joseph Silverman, New York City, M. V. Joseph, Birmingham, Ala., Albert Strauss, Cleveland, Ohio, Nathan Kaufman, St. Louis, Mo.; recording secretary,

Benjamin Mielziner, Cincinnati, Ohio; financial secretary, Elias H. Phillips, Cincinnati, Ohio; treasurer, Henry C. Ezekiel, Cincinnati, Ohio. The executive committee of fifteen (one-third to go out of office each year) included: Rev. Samuel Ullman, Birmingham, Ala.; Isadore Israel, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Charles Eisenman, Cleveland, Ohio; Joseph Blumenthal, New York City; Rev. Dr. M. Samfield, Memphis, Tenn.; M. Summerfield, St. Louis, Mo.; A. Kursesht, New York City; Edward Gross, Cleveland, Ohio; Rev. Dr. David Philipson, Cincinnati, Ohio; B. Wolff, Montgomery, Ala.; Rev. Charles Levi, Cincinnati, Ohio; M. J. Goldsmith, Greenville, Miss.; Rev. E. S. Levy, Selma, Ala.; and Nathan Hynes, Newark, N. J.

The second convention was held Jan. 12, 1891, in Memphis, Tenn.²³⁸ The following delegates were present: Alfred M. Cohen, H. C. Ezekiel, E. H. Phillips, Benjamin Mielziner and Morris Sachs, Cincinnati, Ohio; Isadore Israel, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Rev. J. Bogen, M. J. Goldsmith, R. B. Goldman, Greenville, Miss.; Rev. H. M. Bien, Vicksburg, Miss.; Hiram Halle and Albert Strauss, Cleveland, Ohio; S. Ullman, Rev. M. Eisenberg and E. Schreiber, Birmingham, Ala.; Rev. M. Samfield, H. Hirsch, L. G. Pape, H. Peres, S. S. Einstein, George Hexter, B. W. Hirsch, S. A. Meyers and W. M. Katzenberger, Memphis, Tenn.; Nathan Kaufman, Sam. N. Friedman and Lewis Godlove, St. Louis, Mo.; and delegates from Little Rock, Ark.

President Alfred M. Cohen reported that as a result of pamphlets circulated throughout the country, eight associations had joined the Union. In addition, the Baltimore Y.M.H.A., with 600 members, and the Louisville Y.M.H.A., with 275 members, had made application at the Convention. He also reported on the work of the committee to formulate a course of studies; stated that a list of speakers was arranged; that a committee had been appointed to announce debate subjects; and recommended an "annual entertainment

²³⁸ *AI*, Jan. 22, 1891; *AH*, Jan. 30, 1891; *JMes*, Jan. 23, 1891.

for the benefit of a Manual Training School Fund to be used for the education and Americanization of poor immigrant Jews, and others." Resolutions were passed recommending the memorializing of Congress to pass a resolution on the persecution of the Jews in Russia; the establishment of "industrial schools for the children of all persecuted people who seek our shores for protection"; the organization of "night schools for immigrants to teach the language of the country"; that a committee be appointed to prepare questions on biblical history; and that the proposed industrial school be financed by three annual entertainments on the occasion of the Jewish festivals and by ten per cent of the annual dues from local associatons.

The president, secretaries and treasurer were re-elected; and the following vice-presidents: Albert Strauss, Cleveland, Ohio; L. G. Pape, Memphis, Tenn.; Moses Summerfield, St. Louis, Mo.; and Isadore Israel, Pittsburgh, Pa. The following directors were chosen for three years: Alfred Seasingood, Cincinnati, Ohio; Hardwig Peres, Memphis, Tenn.; M. V. Joseph, Birmingham, Ala.; Henry Jonap, Cincinnati, Ohio; and Isaac W. Bernheim, Louisville, Ky. In accordance with the action taken by the convention, a committee was appointed under the chairmanship of Alfred Seasingood of Cincinnati, to establish "The Union Technological Institute of America," under the auspices of the national organization. A mass meeting was held in Cincinnati, in March, 1891, and was addressed by the Rev. D. Philipson, Judge Jacob Shroder and B. Bettman. A finance committee was appointed to further the project.²³⁹

The third convention was held in St. Louis, Mo., January 14-15, 1892.²⁴⁰ The following delegates were present: Dr. Maurice Eisenberg, Birmingham, Ala.; Isaac W. Bern-

²³⁹ *AI*, Feb. 26 and March 5, 1891.

²⁴⁰ United Y. M. H. A. of America, *Abstract of Proceedings of Third Convention*, Jan. 14-15, 1892; *Jewish Voice* (=JV), Jan. 22, 1892; *AI*, Jan. 21 and Jan. 28, 1892.

heim, Henry Levy, Joseph Block and Julius Meyer, Louisville, Ky.; Alfred M. Cohen, Elias H. Phillips, Rev. Charles Levi and Morris Sachs, Cincinnati, Ohio; L. G. Pape, Benjamin Levy and H. B. Schloss, Memphis, Tenn.; Lewis Godlove, Nathan Kaufman, Isaac L. Schoen and Lee Sale, St. Louis, Mo. The following Y. M. H. A.'s were represented by proxies: Pittsburgh, Pa.; Greenville, Miss.; Cleveland, Ohio; Little Rock, Ark.; Newark, N. J.; and Montgomery, Ala.

The president's report stated that nearly all of the constituent societies were conducting night schools for the education of immigrants; and that, under the chairmanship of Dr. D. Philipson, committees were functioning to plan a course of studies and subjects for debates for local associations. Letters had been addressed to all rabbis and leading Jewish citizens, with a view to increasing the number of organizations; however, the president recommended that the constitutional provision that constituent organizations adopt the name Y. M. H. A. be eliminated. He also reported that a list of free lecturers, consisting of leading rabbis and laymen, had been submitted to the member organizations, who were now taking advantage of this service; but suggested that, by paying reasonable fees, a circuit of lectures by celebrated speakers could be planned. With regard to the proposed National Industrial School under the auspices of the United Y. M. H. A., he stated that a number of communities had already established local schools and were unwilling to assist the project, and that opposition had also developed to the organization of a school with a "denominational aspect."

The convention voted to retain the requirement that membership be limited to Y. M. H. A.'s. It also decided to devote as much of its funds as possible to aiding and educating Russian refugees and to continue to work for the establishment of a National Manual Training School. All the officers were re-elected with the exception of one of the vice-presi-

dents, Moses Summerfield, of St. Louis, Mo., who was replaced by the Rev. Dr. S. Sale of St. Louis, Mo. The Rev. Dr. Maurice Eisenberg, Birmingham, Ala.; Lewis Godlove, St. Louis, Mo.; M. J. Goldsmith, Greenville, Miss.; Henry Levy, St. Louis, Mo.; and the Rev. Dr. M. Samfield, Memphis, Tenn., were elected directors for three years. Louisville, Ky., was selected for the 1893 convention, but the convention was never held.

The Executive Board met on January 11, 1893, and admitted the Savannah Y. M. H. A. to membership.²⁴¹ A committee of seven, representing various parts of the country, was appointed to act in conjunction with the Executive Board to establish Y. M. H. A.'s where none existed; and the secretary was instructed to enlist by correspondence the co-operation of leading laymen and rabbis. In accordance with a resolution passed at the St. Louis convention, constituent organizations were asked to contribute to the Hebrew Union College.

Shortly afterwards, the United Y. M. H. A. of America went out of existence. Its breakup was hastened by the financial panic of 1893, which seriously affected many of the local Y. M. H. A.'s. Undoubtedly, the necessity of depending wholly upon the efforts of volunteers, and the inability to establish a sound financial basis, were prime factors in the failure of both the American Hebrew Association and the United Y. M. H. A. of America.

VIII.

BEGINNINGS OF STABILITY: FACILITIES AND PROFESSIONAL STAFF.

FACILITIES.

One of the first objectives of local Y. M. H. A.'s was the establishment of permanent quarters. The Young Men's Hebrew Literary Associations, which came into existence

²⁴¹ *AI*, Jan. 19, 1893.

beginning 1850, usually maintained facilities consisting of library and reading rooms, and auditoriums. In some communities, entire buildings were occupied. The early Y. M. H. A.'s followed in this tradition, and such organizations as the Cincinnati, Ohio, Y. M. H. A. of 1867 and the Montgomery, Ala., Y. M. H. A. of 1869 maintained large quarters.

Prior to 1890, approximately fifty associations maintained permanent facilities, and at least fifteen Y. M. H. A.'s occupied entire buildings. In some communities, buildings were erected especially for the use of the Y. M. H. A., under long-term leases. The three-story brick building of the Newark Y. M. H. A. of 1877 contained the following facilities: a gymnasium (40 by 90 feet and 20 feet high), two bowling alleys, reading room, chess room, ladies' parlor, director's room, auditorium with stage and scenery seating five hundred, and janitor's quarters. A few years later, the Boston Y. M. H. A. of 1880 boasted of the above facilities with the addition of a lodge room and a circulating library. Billiard and pool rooms were also frequently maintained. The New York Y. M. H. A. installed gymnasium equipment in 1875, and opened a complete gymnasium in 1877. The problem of whether the gymnasium should be open on the Sabbath had to be faced almost immediately; a compromise was reached whereby the gymnasium was kept open on the Sabbath for "lighter exercises" only, and members were not allowed to practice on the trapeze and horizontal bars!²⁴² During the next fifteen years, at least a score of Y. M. H. A.'s maintained gymnasiums. These included the Y. M. H. A.'s of New York, N. Y.; Philadelphia, Pa.; Newark, N. J.; Selma, Ala.; Detroit, Mich.; Cincinnati, Ohio; Savannah, Ga.; Denver, Col.; Cleveland, Ohio; Boston, Mass.; Charleston, S. C.; Louisville, Ky.; Baltimore, Md.; Macon, Ga.; Washington, D. C.; Birmingham, Ala.; and New Orleans, La.

The first swimming pool was constructed in the new build-

²⁴² *AR*, Philadelphia, Oct., 1877.

ing of the Philadelphia Hebrew Education Society which was opened in 1891. There was no physical education program and the "bathing-pool" was primarily intended to serve as a public bath. The dimensions of the pool were 14 feet by 38.6 feet with a depth ranging from 4 to 5 feet. The use of the pool was discontinued in 1899 in favor of additional showers as it was impossible to change the water rapidly enough in the summer months, during which over nine thousand bathers used the facilities each month.²⁴³

At the 1881 convention of the American Hebrew Association, an attempt was made to limit membership to Y. M. H. A.'s having permanent quarters, including "a reading room and library." To a large degree, the Y. M. H. A. facilities were used as community centers. As will be noted later, a number of associations served the women of the community by admitting them to full or partial membership as early as 1868. Various other organizations in the community met in the Y. M. H. A. "hall," as the quarters were usually designated. Weddings and social functions took place there. In at least two communities, regular religious services were conducted by early associations. In Dallas, Tex., where the first Jewish settlers did not arrive until 1871,²⁴⁴ the Y. M. H. A. expended \$3,000 in 1881 to equip its new quarters. In 1887, the Dallas association dedicated the first building owned and erected by a Y. M. H. A.²⁴⁵ The Louisville Y. M. H. A. erected a gymnasium in 1890. It measured 65 by 40 feet and included dressing rooms, bath rooms, and three hundred lockers.²⁴⁶ A three-story addition was erected in front of the gymnasium in 1895, through the generosity of Isaac W. and B. Bernheim.

²⁴³ *Fifty Years' Work of the Hebrew Education Society of Philadelphia 1848-1898*, Philadelphia, 1899, pp. 103, 176.

²⁴⁴ *JEn*, v. 4, p. 373.

²⁴⁵ *AI*, Nov. 25, 1887.

²⁴⁶ Louisville Y. M. H. A., *Louisville Chronicler* (=LC), Jan., 1930; *AI*, Nov. 27, 1890.

The property was valued at \$20,000.²⁴⁷ The buildings of New York Hebrew Institute (now the Educational Alliance) and of the Philadelphia Hebrew Education Society (Touro Hall) were dedicated in 1891. The Savannah Y. M. H. A. purchased a site for a building in 1891.²⁴⁸ The New Orleans Y. M. H. A. erected a large building in 1896, the land, building and equipment having a value of nearly \$75,000.²⁴⁹ In 1897, the New York Y. M. H. A. was presented with a building by Jacob H. Schiff, who, three years later, in 1900, erected a building for the association on its present site. Other associations which early acquired buildings were the San Francisco, Calif., Y. M. H. A., 1903; the Atlanta, Ga., Y. M. H. A., 1904; the New York City Young Women's Hebrew Association, 1905; and the Philadelphia, Pa., Y. M. H. A., 1907.

Growth in facilities, either through purchase or construction, continued at a rapid rate. By 1915, one hundred sixteen associations reported the maintenance of libraries and reading rooms, and forty-six of these associations occupied entire buildings.²⁵⁰ The acquisition of facilities was accelerated by the Council of Y. M. H. and Kindred Associations (the national organization established in 1913), and in particular by its successor, the Jewish Welfare Board, with which the Council was merged in 1921.

PROFESSIONAL STAFF.

The volunteer character of the Y. M. H. A. movement is emphasized by the comparatively long period of time which elapsed until the emergence of the professional executive in this field. This came about when the operation of facilities necessitated the employment of a staff. The New York

²⁴⁷ *AI*, Dec. 26, 1895.

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, Dec. 26, 1895; *JV*, Nov. 15, 1895; *JMes*, July 10, 1891.

²⁴⁹ *AI*, Feb. 20, 1896; *JMes*, Nov. 20, 1896.

²⁵⁰ Council of Y. M. H. and Kindred Associations, *Annual Report of Board of Managers*, 1915, pp. 41-42.

Y. M. H. A. appears to have employed assistant secretaries and librarians from its inception. The original constitution of 1874 provided for a paid librarian. The office was sometimes combined with that of the assistant secretary. The duties of the latter seem to have been: general secretarial work; desk attendant; handling finances in connection with paid activities, such as the annual lecture series, holiday celebrations, dances, etc.; and the collection of dues. In 1875, the New York Y. M. H. A. inserted the following advertisement in a Jewish weekly periodical:

Wanted — By the Young Men's Hebrew Association, a gentleman competent to act as Assistant Secretary, Collector, and Janitor, to whom a liberal salary will be paid, and who can reside on the premises. Apply in writing to M. S. Wise, Rec. Sec., 112 West 21st Street.²⁵¹

Apparently this combination of abilities was not obtainable, for the association engaged an assistant secretary, as well as a janitor, and also two collectors on a commission basis.²⁵² The following year, a combined assistant secretary and librarian was employed.²⁵³ Consideration was also given to the employment of an executive, for in 1882, the House Committee was authorized to advertise for a superintendent at a salary of \$1,000; however, no action was taken.²⁵⁴ The experience of the Philadelphia Y. M. H. A. was similar to that of the New York Association. The office of librarian was provided in the original constitution of 1875, and a librarian and a secretary were employed the first year.²⁵⁵ A collector on a commission basis was also employed. The constitution of the St. Louis Y. M. H. A., 1880, included a paid librarian among its officers.

²⁵¹ *YMes*, May 14, 1875.

²⁵² New York Y. M. H. A., *Minutes*, June 25, 1875.

²⁵³ *Ibid.*, May 16, 1876.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, Oct. 9, 1882.

²⁵⁵ W. R. Langfeld, *supra*.

As previously noted, fully equipped gymnasiums were opened beginning 1877, and physical instructors were probably employed shortly thereafter. Trained instructors who were graduates of the "Turner" colleges of the period and usually called "professors" were engaged. A gymnasium teacher was employed by the New York Y. M. H. A. in 1880.²⁵⁶ The Baltimore Y. M. H. A. employed a physical instructor, and conducted a gymnasium exhibition in 1881.²⁵⁷ An annual exhibition of the gymnastic class of the Boston Y. M. H. A. was reported in 1885²⁵⁸; and about 1890, physical instructors were employed by the Y. M. H. A.'s of Cleveland, Louisville, Philadelphia, Cincinnati, Savannah, and probably other associations.

The annual lecture forum was practically a universal activity among the associations and paid lecturers were engaged as early as 1874. As already noted, the two national organizations of 1880 and 1890 attempted to organize lecture and concert bureaus. Professional instructors were employed for educational classes as early as 1876. In the larger Y. M. H. A.'s these classes included a wide variety of subjects, such as Hebrew, Jewish cultural courses, French, German, bookkeeping, penmanship, elocution, and chemistry. Night schools for men and women immigrants were conducted by the New York Y. M. H. A., beginning 1883, and by the Cincinnati and Philadelphia Y. M. H. A.'s, beginning about 1890. In 1892, the annual report of the president of the United Y. M. H. A. of America stated that nearly all of its constituent societies were conducting night schools.

Upon the erection of the addition to its building in 1895, the Louisville Y. M. H. A. elected its financial secretary, Samuel Kaufman, as superintendent.²⁵⁹ However, he continued to be known as "Financial Secretary, and Custodian

²⁵⁶ New York Y. M. H. A., *Annual Report*, 1881.

²⁵⁷ American Hebrew Association, *AB*, May, 1881.

²⁵⁸ *AI*, Jan. 1, 1886.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, Dec. 26, 1895.

of the building," and held the office till 1910.²⁶⁰ The New York Y. M. H. A. employed William Mitchell as superintendent in 1898, when it opened its first building. In 1903, the New York Young Women's Hebrew Association employed its first superintendent. The employment of executives and staff members was largely determined by the acquisition of facilities. After the turn of the century, Y. M. H. A.'s began to acquire both homes and executives at a rapid rate. By 1915, the number of superintendents employed by the Y. M. H. A.'s was twenty-two.

IX.

DEVELOPMENT OF ADMINISTRATIVE AND MEMBERSHIP POLICIES.

Surprising as it may seem, the Y. M. H. A.'s did not as a rule evolve from the club type of organization, governed by meetings of the general membership, into the modern institutional organization. Administrative and membership policies in the larger associations were very similar to those of present-day centers, allowing for the fact that membership was usually restricted to young men of the intermediate and senior age groups. Such developments, as have taken place, have been in the extension of membership to the entire family as a unit, and primarily in the philosophy of the movement, resulting in the Jewish Community Center concept.

Many of the earlier literary societies, which were forerunners of the movement, and some Y. M. H. A.'s in small Jewish communities functioned undoubtedly on a club basis. However, nearly all of the larger associations, organized during the period of rapid growth beginning 1874, had constitutions and administrations that were practically identical with those of current associations. As previously pointed

²⁶⁰ *A History of the Jews of Louisville, New Orleans, Jewish Historical Society, 1901, p. 163.*

out, the constitutions of the larger associations were widely copied throughout the country, resulting in similar patterns of government.

The constitution of the New York Y. M. H. A., organized in 1874, provided for a board of directors, elected for a three-year period, one third to go out of office each year. The same type of administration was embodied in the constitutions of the Philadelphia, Pa., Y. M. H. A., organized in 1875; the Cincinnati, Ohio, Y. M. H. A., organized in 1877; the Harlem Y. M. H. A. in New York City, organized in 1878²⁶¹; the St. Louis, Mo., Y. M. H. A., organized in 1880; the Cleveland, Ohio, Y. M. H. A., organized in 1889,²⁶² and many others. The constitutions of the New York, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Cincinnati, Boston, and probably of many other Y.M.H.A.'s, also provided for annual meetings of the general membership. The latter provision, however, met with some opposition. The Philadelphia Y. M. H. A., beginning 1884, experimented with quarterly membership meetings, but returned to the annual meeting in 1886.²⁶³ Agitation developed in the Cincinnati Y. M. H. A., in 1878, for monthly in place of annual meetings.²⁶⁴ The St. Louis Y. M. H. A., in 1889, inaugurated monthly instead of annual meetings²⁶⁵; and the following year the Cleveland association changed from annual to quarterly meetings.²⁶⁶ The officers of the early associations were similar to those at present with the important addition of the librarian. This was a paid office and usually so designated in the constitution of the association. The New York and Philadelphia Y. M. H. A.'s employed librarians immediately upon their organization in 1874 and 1875, respectively. All staff members, including the librarian, were employed by the House Committee.

²⁶¹ *YAd*, Aug., 1879.

²⁶² *AI*, Jan. 24, 1889.

²⁶³ W. R. Langfeld, *supra*.

²⁶⁴ *YMes*, Jan. 18, 1878.

²⁶⁵ *AI*, Jan. 24, 1889.

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, Nov. 20, 1890.

Policies with respect to non-Jewish members were also similar to current practice and developed very early in the history of the movement. The original constitution of the New York Y. M. H. A. provided that any "Israelite" twenty-one years of age and over may become an active member with the right to vote and hold office. It also provided that any "person" over thirteen years of age may become an associate member without these privileges. The latter provision was intended to permit the affiliation of non-Jews; for, at a special meeting held the following year, 1875, the term "associate member" was construed to include Israelites as well as non-Israelites over twenty-one years of age.²⁶⁷ Apparently, this was done to provide a contributing senior membership, paying the lower rate of dues of the associate group, and without voting and office-holding privileges. This privilege was rescinded two years later, at the 1877 annual meeting, when persons eligible to active membership were barred from becoming associate members. The Newark, N. J., Y. M. H. A., upon its organization in 1877, decided that Christians could be eligible to honorary membership only.²⁶⁸ The St. Louis Y. M. H. A. of 1880 and the Louisville Y. M. H. A. of 1890 admitted Christians to full membership,²⁶⁹ a practice which continues in both organizations. The Louisville association also opened its gymnasium in 1891 to non-members, upon payment of a special fee. Although a number of associations at present have no membership restrictions, the usual current practice is to limit non-Jewish membership with respect to voting and office-holding privileges. Membership in the early associations was usually limited to men and boys. The senior group began at age eighteen or twenty-one; and the associate group included those from fourteen or fifteen years of age, up to the senior classification. Life memberships at fees of fifty dollars or

²⁶⁷ New York Y. M. H. A., *Minutes*, Dec. 26, 1875; *AR*, Oct., 1877.

²⁶⁸ *JMes*, Jan. 18, 1878.

²⁶⁹ *LC*, Jan., 1930.

one hundred dollars were also prevalent among the early associations. Although women were admitted to full or partial membership as early as 1868, the extension of privileges to junior members and the development of family membership are comparatively recent innovations.

X.

WOMEN AND JUNIORS IN THE JEWISH CENTER MOVEMENT.

The policies of the early Y. M. H. A.'s with respect to extension of membership to women and juniors were similar to the practices of the earlier Jewish literary societies, the forerunners of the Y. M. H. A. movement.

WOMEN.

These literary societies frequently were open on an equal basis to both men and women, and where women were not admitted to full membership, they were admitted as honorary or contributing members without the privileges of voting or office-holding. The early associations, many of which had been organized as literary societies and converted into Y. M. H. A.'s with a community-wide scope, naturally adopted similar policies towards women. Thus the Y.M.H.A. of Lafayette, Ind., organized in 1868, had "a musical and dramatic corps which included young ladies."²⁷⁰ Upon the organization of the New York Y. M. H. A. in 1874, a motion to admit women to full membership was defeated.²⁷¹ However, women were permitted to join the literary circle of the New York association in 1875²⁷²; and the Philadelphia Y. M. H. A. permitted women to enroll in a class in elocution and English literature, which was organized in 1876 with a

²⁷⁰ *AI*, Dec. 31, 1869.

²⁷¹ New York Y. M. H. A., *Minutes*, Aug. 29, 1874.

²⁷² *JRec*, May 21, 1875.

paid instructor. Women were also admitted to bowling circles and other group activities in both organizations.²⁷³ In 1878, the New York Y. M. H. A. decided to admit women daily except Saturday and Sunday from 10 A. M. to 2 P. M. at a charge of two dollars for the seven-month period from October to May.²⁷⁴ The Chicago, Ill., West Side Y. M. H. A. of 1877 admitted women to full membership.²⁷⁵ The Y. M. H. A. of Madison, Ind., changed its name in 1878 to "Madison Hebrew Association," in order to admit women.²⁷⁶ The Harlem (N. Y.) Y. M. H. A. of 1878 had a dramatic society open to ladies.²⁷⁷ In 1880, the "Hebrew Ladies of Harlem," donated \$300 to equip the gymnasium of the Harlem Y. M. H. A., and were given free use of the gymnasium and other facilities.²⁷⁸ The Philadelphia, Pa., Y. M. H. A. decided in 1880 to admit women as contributing members. The Young People's Hebrew Association of Quincy, Ill., later changed to Y. M. H. A., included both sexes in 1880.²⁷⁹ The St. Louis, Mo., Y. M. H. A. of 1880 admitted ladies as honorary members²⁸⁰; and the Cincinnati, Ohio, Y. M. H. A. at its annual meeting in 1880 reported seventeen ladies as honorary members.²⁸¹ The Macon, Ga., association also had women as honorary members.²⁸² Apparently these honorary members were admitted for the purpose of participating in dramatics and public entertainments. In 1881, the St. Louis, Mo., Y. M. H. A. and The Pioneers, a prominent local ladies' literary society, were

²⁷³ Philadelphia Y. M. H. A., *The Associate*, Sept., 1889.

²⁷⁴ New York Y. M. H. A., *Minutes*, Sept. 19, 1878.

²⁷⁵ *AI*, March 1, 1878.

²⁷⁶ American Hebrew Association, *AB*, July, 1881.

²⁷⁷ *AH*, Nov. 28, 1879.

²⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, July 30, 1880.

²⁷⁹ *JMes*, Nov. 19, 1880; *AI*, Jan. 14, 1881.

²⁸⁰ Marian Epstein, "The Y. M. H. A. — Y. W. H. A. of St. Louis" (manuscript at St. Louis Y. M. H. A. — Y. W. H. A.), 1934.

²⁸¹ *AI*, Sept. 24, 1880.

²⁸² American Hebrew Association, *AB*, Nov., 1881.

merged²⁸³; and women continued as members of the St. Louis Y. M. H. A. as late as 1885.²⁸⁴ The Pioneers are still in existence as a ladies' literary society. The Newark, N. J., Y. M. H. A. organized a ladies auxiliary in 1881²⁸⁵; and the same year, a literary society in Mobile, Ala., was reported as being converted into a Y. M. H. A. with both men and women members.²⁸⁶ The Kansas City, Mo.,²⁸⁷ and Elizabeth, N. J.,²⁸⁸ Y. M. H. A.'s, both organized in 1883, admitted women to full membership; the former association included women among its officers. The Cincinnati Y. M. H. A., at its annual meeting in 1887, resolved to admit women as contributory members without voting privileges.²⁸⁹

The name Young Women's Hebrew Association appeared for the first time when the New York Y. M. H. A. organized an auxiliary under that name in 1888.²⁹⁰ The organization met in the Y. M. H. A. rooms and also had a membership at the Downtown Branch of the Y. M. H. A. Dues were one dollar annually for girls over sixteen years of age. The organization functioned successfully for a number of years with a membership of several hundred. Its first president was Julia Richman, the well-known educator. Its program included cultural classes, home circle clubs, Americanization classes at the Downtown Branch of the Y. M. H. A., and also a vacation house for working girls at Mt. Kisco, N. Y. Up to this time, women had been admitted to either full or partial membership in the Y. M. H. A.'s. The example set by the New York association in setting up a separate auxiliary was widely copied during the next decade. The national organization of 1890, the United Y. M. H. A. of

²⁸³ *AI*, May 6, 1881.

²⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, Feb. 27, 1885.

²⁸⁵ American Hebrew Association, *AB*, July, 1881.

²⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, Nov., 1881.

²⁸⁷ *AI*, Jan. 4, 1884.

²⁸⁸ Elizabeth, N. J., Y. M. A. & Y. W. H. A. *Golden Jubilee*, May 21, 1933.

²⁸⁹ *AI*, Sept. 23, 1887.

²⁹⁰ New York Y. M. H. A., *Minutes*, Oct. 4, 1888.

America, resolved at its first convention that "it is the sense of this convention that all subordinate associations should encourage the reception of women as auxiliaries thereto."²⁹¹ Auxiliaries were organized in Louisville, Ky.,²⁹² Denver, Col.,²⁹³ New Orleans, La.,²⁹⁴ and Columbus, Ohio,²⁹⁵ in 1891; in Birmingham, Ala., in 1892²⁹⁶; in Washington, D. C., in 1893²⁹⁷; in Philadelphia, Pa., in 1894²⁹⁸; and in many other cities. With the new development, came increased participation by women in the program of the Y. M. H. A. The Louisville Y. M. H. A. conducted gymnasium classes for women beginning 1891, and the New York Y. M. H. A. instituted similar classes the following year.²⁹⁹ The gymnasium schedule of the Louisville association is of interest, because of its similarity to that of the Jewish Center of modern times.³⁰⁰

Girls' Classes — Tuesday and Thursday — 3-4:15 P. M.

Ladies' Classes — Tuesday and Thursday — 4:15-5:30 P. M.

Boys' Classes — Monday, Wednesday and Friday — 3:30-5 P. M.

Men's Classes — Monday, Wednesday and Saturday — 8-9:30 P. M.

After the turn of the century, these auxiliaries were rapidly displaced by independent Young Women's Hebrew Associations; and the growth of the Y. W. H. A.'s continued for about two decades. The New York Y. W. H. A., organized in 1902, is the oldest in existence with a continuous history. The same organization also employed the first professional woman executive in 1903. Y. W. H. A.'s were

²⁹¹ United Y. M. H. A. of America, *Abstract of Proceedings at First Convention*, July 7-9, 1890.

²⁹² *AI*, Jan. 22, 1891.

²⁹³ *Ibid.*, Dec. 10, 1891.

²⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, Jan. 29, 1891.

²⁹⁶ *JMes*, Nov. 25, 1891.

²⁹⁷ *AI*, May 25, 1893.

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, Nov. 29, 1894.

²⁹⁹ *JMes*, Dec. 2, 1892.

³⁰⁰ *AI*, Jan. 14, 1892.

organized so rapidly that regional federations of Y.W.H.A.'s soon appeared. The Associated Y. W. H. A.'s of New England was organized in 1913, and the Metropolitan League of Y. W. H. A.'s of New York City and the New Jersey Federation of Y. W. H. A.'s, a few years later. When the Council of Young Men's Hebrew and Kindred Associations was established in 1913, women were elected to the Board of Managers.

ASSOCIATE AND JUNIOR MEMBERS.

Membership in the early Y. M. H. A.'s was largely restricted to age groups corresponding to what are at present usually designated as the intermediate (high school ages) and senior or adult groups. The term "active members" was used for the senior group with voting and office-holding privileges, and the term "associates" for the intermediate group. The Philadelphia Young Men's Hebrew Literary Association of 1850 admitted those over eighteen years of age as seniors, and organized a Junior Hebrew Literary Association for those from thirteen to eighteen years.³⁰¹ Somewhat similar age classifications were adopted by the early Y.M.H.A.'s. The constitution of the New York Y.M.H.A., in 1874, provided for active members, twenty-one years and up, and associate members from thirteen years and up, but without the right to vote and hold office. The associate group was also intended to include non-Jews. The following year a contributing senior membership without voting privileges was established by permitting Jews as well as non-Jews above twenty-one to enroll as associates. However, in 1877, the constitution was again amended to provide that no person eligible to active membership could become an associate member. During the first year, dues were two dollars annually for all groups; in 1875, the fees were raised to five dollars for active (senior) members, and three dollars for associate members. At the annual meeting of 1879, the

³⁰¹ *Asm*, May 21, 1852.

associate minimum age was raised to fifteen, and "school-boy tickets" for ages twelve to fifteen were established at a fee of two dollars. The schoolboys were entitled to use the gymnasium from 3 to 6 P. M. only. Apparently very few enrolled in the new classification, for the annual report of 1880 lists only three schoolboy members. A Junior Literary Society functioned at the New York Y. M. H. A. in 1876.³⁰²

The Philadelphia Y. M. H. A. constitution of 1875 provided for active members, twenty-one years and up, at five dollars annually; and associate members, sixteen to twenty-one years, at three dollars annually, but without voting privileges. An interesting provision, however, was made for participation by the associate group in the government of the association. The associate group was permitted to choose one delegate for every ten associate members, and these delegates had all the privileges of active senior members including the right to vote and appointment to standing committees. The immediate result was the formation of an associate organization with its own officers. The associate organization at once took an active part in the affairs of the Y. M. H. A., although it did not receive official recognition from the senior group until 1880. At times in the early history of the Philadelphia Y. M. H. A., the associate organization exhibited more strength than the senior organization, and undoubtedly was an important factor in the sustained growth of the association. A group among the associates was largely responsible for the publication in 1877-1878 of *The Association Review*, which was intended as a publication for the entire Y. M. H. A. movement. A second publication appeared in 1889-1890 under the title *The Associate*. The associate group also conducted two debates, in 1889, with the literary circle of the New York Y. M. H. A.

Similar age groupings prevailed in most of the larger associations. The constitution of the St. Louis Y. M. H. A. of 1880 provided for active members above twenty-one,

³⁰² *YMes*, Dec. 21, 1877.

and associates, without voting privileges, between fifteen and twenty-one. The Boston Y. M. H. A. of 1881 classified "actives" as eighteen years and up, and "associates" as fifteen to eighteen years, without voting privileges.³⁰³ A junior Y. M. H. A. was organized in New Orleans in 1881.³⁰⁴ The Pittsburgh association also organized a junior Y. M. H. A. a few years later.³⁰⁵ In general, membership began at approximately fifteen years of age, and in a few instances at twelve years of age, particularly where gymnasium facilities were provided. This continued, practically without change, for many years. During the first two decades after 1900, a club and religious school program developed in the Y. M. H. A.'s, and juniors began to participate in larger numbers. In 1915, Y. M. H. A.'s reported the conduct of 733 clubs with a membership of 17,547; and forty-five religious schools, thirteen of which held sessions more often than once a week.³⁰⁶ However, an adequate junior program was not attained until very recent years, when the philosophy of the Jewish Community Center was developed, with its emphasis upon the entire family as the membership unit.

XI.

THE PERIOD OF RUSSIAN-JEWISH IMMIGRATION.

Beginning 1880, new problems faced the Jews of the New World, due to increased immigration caused by the Russian and East European persecutions. The Jewish population of the United States was estimated as 50,000 in 1848; 250,000

³⁰³ *History of the Jews of Boston*, Boston, Jewish Chronicle Publishing Co., 1892.

³⁰⁴ *JAd*, Nov., 1881.

³⁰⁵ *AI*, Dec. 4, 1890.

³⁰⁶ Council of Y. M. H. and Kindred Associations, *Annual Report of Board of Managers*, 1915, pp. 44-46; *Jewish Charities* (= *JChs*), Dec., 1916, pp. 186-187.

in 1880³⁰⁷; and 400,000 in 1888. The same rate of increase was maintained and the Jewish population doubled itself during each of the next two decades, reaching 2,000,000 by 1910. Over ninety per cent of the new arrivals came from Eastern Europe; nearly one third of all the East European Jews were transplanted to the United States within a period of fifty years.

The older group of American Jews immediately began the task of adjusting the newcomers to American life. They established a variety of agencies in an endeavor to encourage distribution of the population to various sections of the country and away from the large cities. Nevertheless, the great bulk of the new immigrants settled in the big cities, particularly in the eastern states, and complicated the problem of adjustment. A wide variety of philanthropic activities were undertaken by practically all of the existing major Jewish organizations, including industrial and manual training schools; so-called "missionary schools" which were usually combinations of classes in religion, kindergartens, and sewing instruction for girls; Americanization work, including night schools for the teaching of English, American history and customs; libraries; preparation for naturalization and the like; social service activities; and the establishment of neighborhood centers of the settlement type. Here it is important to note that these activities preceded the non-sectarian settlement house in America, the first of which, the University Settlement, was founded in New York in 1886.³⁰⁸ The Jewish Centers differed in many respects from the usual

³⁰⁷ Board of Delegates of American Israelites and Union of American Hebrew Congregations, *Statistics of Jews of United States*, Philadelphia, 1880, p. 3; H. S. Linfield, "Statistics of Jews and Jewish Organizations in the United States: An Historical Review of Ten Censuses, 1850-1937" in the *American Jewish Year Book*, v. 40 (1938-1939 [5699]), pp. 61-84; *JEn*, v. 12, pp. 370 ff.; Samuel Joseph, *Jewish Immigration to the United States from 1881 to 1910*, New York, 1914.

³⁰⁸ Albert J. Kennedy and Kathryn Farra, *Social Settlements in New York City*, New York, 1935, p. 6.

settlement house, as will be indicated later in this account. The part played by the free Hebrew school systems in the development of the early neighborhood houses accounts in a measure for these distinctions; although, in the course of time, a number of Jewish institutions developed which were modeled after the settlement pattern.

The story of how the Jewish community of New York City attempted to meet these problems is worth recounting in some detail as it is typical of steps taken in other large cities. The Hebrew Free School Association of New York City was founded in 1864 to "counteract the work of missionaries who at that period were active in seeking to make conversions among Hebrew children."³⁰⁹ The Hebrew Free School Association established the first and most important of an extensive series of "mission schools" in behalf of the poorer Jewish children. Russian immigrants began to arrive about 1876, and in 1879 the Hebrew Free School Association established the first industrial school for girls. In practically all communities, activities for underprivileged girls preceded those for boys. The New York Hebrew Technical Institute for boys was not founded till 1884. The United Hebrew Charities of New York opened an industrial school for girls in 1880, and a branch in 1881 under the direction of the Young Ladies Charitable Union, of which Julia Richman was president. The activities of the latter organization were taken over by the Hebrew Free School Association in 1886.³¹⁰ The Hebrew Free School Association opened the first kindergarten in 1882, as well as the first classes in "English for Emigrants," the same year.³¹¹ The year 1882 marked the great exodus of Jews to America.

³⁰⁹ Hebrew Free School Association, *Souvenir of Confirmation* (at Educational Alliance, New York City), May 31, 1891; *Souvenir Book of Fair in Aid of Educational Alliance and Hebrew Technical Institute*, New York, 1895, pp. 42-43.

³¹⁰ United Charities of New York, *Fifty Years of Social Service*, New York, 1926, p. 38.

³¹¹ Hebrew Free School Association, *Minutes*, April 25, 1882.

In 1883, the New York Young Men's Hebrew Association established its downtown branch, the first Jewish neighborhood center in America for immigrant groups. The activities and facilities included Americanization classes, an employment bureau, lecture forums, entertainments, and a library. Here Emma Lazarus, the famous poet, taught English to "Young Jewesses"³¹²; and Jacob H. Schiff in 1884 hailed the "noble missionary work among the Russians" conducted by the Y. M. H. A. The same year (1884), the *American Hebrew* wrote editorially:

The narrow-minded and shortsighted intelligence of our charity donors has failed to distinguish that it [the Y. M. H. A.] has claims no less important than the Orphan Asylum, the Hospital, and the Home.³¹³

The active interest of the New York Y. M. H. A. in Jewish education and its co-operation with the Hebrew Free School Association have been noted in an earlier chapter of this account. In 1886, the libraries of the Y. M. H. A. and the Hebrew Free School Association were merged under the name, Aguilar Free Public Library. The Y. M. H. A. library contained over 7,000 volumes and that of the Hebrew Free School Association, 3,000 volumes. A fund of \$20,000 was raised, towards which Jacob H. Schiff contributed \$10,000, and three branch libraries were opened. The annual reports of the Hebrew Free School Association for 1886 describe the organization of the new library:

While our great city is filled with grand charities caring for the physical ills of our unfortunate brethren, there are but three prominent organizations, the Hebrew Free School Association, the Young Men's Hebrew Association, and the Hebrew Technical Institute, that have labored in the field of the mind, and have attempted to assist in the great problem of the amelioration of the poorer and unfortunate classes through the intellect and the heart.³¹⁴

³¹² *AI*, Dec. 28, 1883.

³¹³ *AH*, May 23, 1884.

³¹⁴ Hebrew Free School Association, *Annual Report*, 1886, p. 27.

In 1889, the Young Men's Hebrew Association, the Hebrew Free School Association and the Aguilar Free Public Library joined forces and conducted a fair which raised \$125,000. As a result, the Hebrew Institute was established that year and a building erected and dedicated in 1891. The management from 1889 to 1893 was under the direction of the three organizations, and a separate corporation under the name of Educational Alliance was set up to handle the funds and to act as trustee for the property. In 1893, the Y. M. H. A. withdrew from active support, due in part to lack of funds, and the institute was reorganized as the Educational Alliance.³¹⁵ Both names were used for a time, but the name Hebrew Institute was gradually dropped as the organization came under anti-sectarian influences. The assets of the Hebrew Free School Association were legally turned over to the Educational Alliance in 1889, and the work for the Hebrew Free School Association has continued up to the present in its religious school. The names "Hebrew Institute" and "Educational Alliance" were widely copied with minor variations by Jewish organizations throughout the country during the next two decades.

A somewhat similar development took place in Philadelphia. The Hebrew Education Society (which had conducted religious schools since 1848) opened its first industrial school for girls in 1880, and undertook "a complete system of industrial education" in 1883. Instruction in manual training, cigar-making, garment-cutting, sewing, etc., comprised the curriculum in these schools. The Young Women's Union (now the Neighborhood Center) was organized as a branch of the Hebrew Education Society in 1885, and conducted kindergarten and domestic science activities. The Philadelphia Y. M. H. A. had been conducting downtown entertainments and lectures for the emigrant groups since 1884; and early in 1890, a joint committee of the Y. M. H. A. and

³¹⁵ *Souvenir Book of Fair in Aid of Educational Alliance and Hebrew Technical Institute*, pp. 13, 15.

the Hebrew Education Society considered the possibility of securing or erecting a downtown building. Finally, in 1891, the Southern Branch of the Y. M. H. A. was opened in the building of the Hebrew Education Society. The activities included a library, employment bureau, night school and recreational program.³¹⁶ Late the same year, the Hebrew Education Society opened its new building, Touro Hall, at a cost of \$50,000, and sublet its old building to the Hebrew Literature Society,

an organization consisting entirely of Russians and has been in existence for the last seven years [since 1885], which continues that part of our labors formerly carried on by the Young Men's Hebrew Association, the latter taking charge of the Reading Room Library, Lectures and Entertainments in the new building.³¹⁷

The activities conducted in Touro Hall were similar to those of the New York Hebrew Institute and their scope may be gauged from the annual report of the Hebrew Education Society for 1892. The Southern Branch of Y. M. H. A., University Extension Society Courses, Hebrew School, Sunday School, Night School, Trade Schools, Employment Bureau, Agent of Immigrant Society, auxiliary charities conducted by the United Hebrew Charities, and the Baron de Hirsch Fund, were housed there. The facilities included a swimming pool. A few years later the B'nai B'rith Manual Training School and Gratz College were also housed in Touro Hall. The amicable relations of the Hebrew Education Society and the Y. M. H. A. were broken in 1901; the Southern Branch went out of existence and members of the Y. M. H. A. assisted in the organization of an independent downtown association under the name Young Men's Hebrew Union.

³¹⁶ W. R. Langfeld, *supra*, pp. 22, 26, 30, 36.

³¹⁷ Hebrew Education Society, *Report of Annual Meeting, 1892; Fifty Years' Work of the Hebrew Education Society, 1848-1898*, Philadelphia, 1899, pp. 86, 89, 95, 96, 103.

In St. Louis, an interesting merger of activities developed from efforts of the older Jewish community in co-operation with the newer arrivals. The Hebrew Free and Industrial School was organized in 1879 and conducted religious and industrial classes for poorer children. In 1890, branches of the Jewish Alliance of America were formed in various cities by the Russian-Jewish immigrants in an effort to solve by themselves the host of problems involved in the settlement of the Jewish immigrants. Branches were set up in all of the principal cities, and although the national movement ultimately failed, due to lack of finances, the St. Louis Jewish Alliance took root. It immediately began to conduct English-language classes, using a public school building donated by the City Board of Education. A "Labor Bureau" was also established under the joint auspices of the Jewish Alliance, the Y. M. H. A., and the Hebrew Relief Association.³¹⁸ In 1899, the St. Louis Jewish Alliance, the Hebrew Free and Industrial School, and the United Jewish Charities were merged and, two years later, were housed in the new building of the Jewish Charitable and Educational Union. The building, however, was known as the Jewish Alliance and, by 1906, housed a night school with an attendance of 300 adults, the Hebrew Free and Industrial School, a day nursery, a kindergarten, a technical school, a social and club department with sixty-three educational classes having an enrollment of seventeen hundred, lectures, concerts, library, game room, gymnasium and baths. Beginning in 1909, the classes in English were taken over by the City Board of Education.³¹⁹ Due to movement of the Jewish population away from the old neighborhood, a new building was purchased in 1920, and the name changed to the Jewish Community Center. Gradually, the services other than direct family case work were given up and, in 1932, the name was

³¹⁸ *JV*, Jan. 15, Jan. 29, Feb. 5 and Feb. 12, 1892.

³¹⁹ Samuel Joseph, *History of the Baron de Hirsch Fund*, New York, 1935, pp. 273-274.

changed to Jewish Social Service Bureau. The Club and Social Department was transferred to the Y. M. H. A.-Y. W. H. A., and the religious schools to various synagogues and temples.³²⁰

The New York Hebrew Institute and Touro Hall in Philadelphia, both opened in 1891, were the first buildings specifically erected for Jewish settlement house purposes. During the dozen years preceding their erection, approximately 200,000 Jewish immigrants had arrived, almost as many as the total Jewish population of the United States in 1880. During the following year, 1891-1892, a second wave of immigration began and over 100,000 Russian Jews arrived in that single year. These numbers were to be multiplied many times over during the next two decades.³²¹

As is evident from the above accounts, the Y. M. H. A.'s made every effort to assist in the program of adjusting the immigrant to the American environment. The United Y. M. H. A. of America, the national organization which functioned from 1890 to 1893, attempted to establish the Union Technological Institute of America, and claimed that practically all of its constituent societies were conducting employment bureaus and night schools for the education of immigrants. About 1890, the Cincinnati Y. M. H. A. conducted one of the more important of these schools under the direction of Professor Sigmund Mannheimer of the Hebrew Union College faculty. The St. Louis Y. M. H. A. attempted to establish a downtown branch as a social settlement in 1903. The early objectives of the Y. M. H. A.'s tended to be obscured as the numbers of immigrants continued to multiply and a host of new problems arose. The movement to establish Americanization agencies continued at rapid pace until the World War of 1914 put an end to the great flow of immi-

³²⁰ Jewish Social Service Bureau of St. Louis, "History" (manuscript at St. Louis), 1932.

³²¹ Samuel Joseph, *Jewish Immigration to the United States from 1881 to 1910*, p. 162, tables 8 and 9.

gration. Among the institutions established under community or independent auspices during this period, in addition to those described above, were: Boston, Mass., Hebrew Industrial School (now the Hecht Neighborhood House), 1890; Chicago, Ill., Maxwell St. Settlement, 1893; Baltimore, Md., Jewish Educational Alliance, 1896; Cincinnati, Ohio, Jewish Settlement (now the Jewish Community House), 1899; New York New Era Club (for "older youths"), 1900; Detroit, Mich., Hannah Schloss Memorial and Jewish Institute (from which the present Jewish Community Center developed), 1900; Chicago, Ill., Hebrew Institute (later the Jewish People's Institute and now the Jewish Community Centers of Chicago), 1903; Cincinnati, Ohio, Jewish Educational Institute, 1904; New York Welcome House, 1904; Newark, N. J., Jewish Day Nursery and Neighborhood House, 1905; Boston, Mass., Jewish People's Institute, 1904 or 1905; Columbus, Ohio, B'nai B'rith House (became the Jewish Educational Alliance in 1910, and is now the Schonthal Jewish Community Center), 1906; Des Moines, Iowa, Jewish Settlement Association (now the Jewish Community Center), 1907; Atlanta, Ga., Jewish Educational Alliance, 1908; Kansas City, Mo., Jewish Educational Institute, 1909; Los Angeles, Calif., Educational Alliance, 1910; Indianapolis, Ind., Jewish Communal Building, 1911; Savannah, Ga., Jewish Educational Alliance, 1912; Toledo, Ohio, Jewish Educational League, 1913; Chicago, Ill., Jewish Educational Alliance (later the Northwest Side Branch of the Jewish People's Institute), 1913.

The synagogues played an important part in this movement and the sisterhoods of almost all the larger congregations established "mission schools." These in turn led to other types of social service activities and social centers. Among the latter were: Chicago, Ill., Jewish Training School (founded by Sinai Temple), 1888; New York Emanu-El Sisterhood, 1889; New York Beth-El Sisterhood, 1890; Buffalo, N. Y., Zion House, now the Jewish Community Building

(organized by Sisterhood of Zion, originally an affiliate of Temple Beth Zion), 1893; San Francisco, Calif., Emanuel Sisterhood, 1894; St. Paul, Minn., Neighborhood House (founded by Mount Zion Temple), 1899; New York Emanuel Brotherhood, 1903; New York, Harlem Federation for Jewish Communal Work, now Federation Settlement (founded by Temple Israel), 1905; and the Sisterhood of the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue, 1908.

The Baron de Hirsch Fund was established in the United States in 1890 and approached the problem of adjustment and assimilation of the Jewish immigrants from many angles, including Americanization activities. These activities consisted chiefly of establishing English classes at the New York Educational Alliance and subsidies for similar activities at the New York New Era Club; Philadelphia, Pa., Hebrew Education Society; Baltimore, Md., Hebrew Literary Society (where Henrietta Szold served as superintendent of the night school, beginning 1889)³²²; Boston, Mass., Hebrew Industrial School; Chicago Jewish Training School; St. Louis, Mo., Jewish Alliance; and the Pittsburgh, Pa., Columbia Council School (now the Irene Kaufman Settlement). The only organization of this type originally founded by the Fund was the Brooklyn Hebrew Educational Society, which was established in 1899 and received the support of the Fund for a quarter of a century.³²³

The National Council of Jewish Women was organized in 1893 and immediately undertook the conduct of "mission schools" on a wide scale (frequently using the facilities of local temples) and also of settlement centers. At the 1896 convention of the Council, it was reported that "twenty-seven institutions of a philanthropic nature have been organized and maintained by the Council, and six more organized by the Council's direct influence. Eight institutions are being

³²² *PAYHS*, no. 31, pp. 225-228; Isidor Blum, *The Jews of Baltimore*, p. 29.

³²³ Samuel Joseph, *History of the Baron de Hirsch Fund*, pp. 253-274.

planned.”³²⁴ A partial list of the social centers organized by local Councils of Jewish Women includes some of the larger institutions of this type: Pittsburgh, Pa., Irene Kaufman Settlement, 1895; Nashville, Tenn., Fensterwald Settlement (name changed to Social Center in 1909), 1894; New York Council House, 1894; Denver, Col., Colfax Settlement, 1896; Portland, Ore., Neighborhood House, 1896; Milwaukee, Wis., Jewish Mission (now the Jewish Center), 1896; New York Recreation Rooms and Settlement, 1898; Cleveland, Ohio, Council Educational Alliance, 1899; Albany, N. Y., Council House, 1900; Seattle, Wash., Settlement House (now the Educational Center), 1906; Norfolk, Va., Settlement House and Center, 1906; Syracuse, N. Y., Jewish Communal Home (now the Jewish Communal Center), 1907; Toronto, Canada, Jewish Girls Club, 1909; New Orleans, La., Y. W. H. A., 1909; Richmond, Va., Neighborhood House, 1912; and Los Angeles, Calif., Ida Strauss Day Nursery and Settlement (now the Hamburger Home), 1913.³²⁵

By 1910, at least seventy-five Jewish neighborhood centers and settlement-type agencies were functioning. In addition, fifty-seven similar organizations under non-sectarian auspices were largely serving a Jewish clientele.³²⁶ This probably represented the peak of the movement and included nearly one-third of the total number of settlement houses in existence at the time. Within a decade, these numbers were reduced to less than half. In 1922, there were “31 settlements organized and financed by non-Jews which are carried on for the benefit of Jews, and 28 settlements organized and maintained by Jews for Jews.”³²⁷

³²⁴ National Council of Jewish Women, *Proceedings of First Convention*, Philadelphia, 1896, p. 215.

³²⁵ Robert A. Woods and Albert J. Kennedy, *Handbook of Settlements*, New York, 1911.

³²⁶ Boris D. Bogen, in *JChs*, August, 1911, p. 10.

³²⁷ Robert A. Woods and Albert J. Kennedy, *The Settlement Horizon*, New York, 1922, p. 372.

This striking change was brought about initially by the almost complete cessation of immigration at the outbreak of the World War in 1914, and practically no new institutions of the settlement type have been established within the last twenty years. A second factor was the rise of the Jewish Community Center, a new type of organization in American Jewish life, which, in many instances, replaced and absorbed the earlier philanthropic institutions.

XII.

BEGINNINGS OF THE JEWISH COMMUNITY CENTER.

The so-called Jewish settlement houses differed in many respects from the non-sectarian settlements. The latter were usually founded by volunteers or groups who desired to work with or in behalf of a given neighborhood. They were men and women who felt an inner call to revolt against social conditions, and to live in working-class neighborhoods for the purpose of establishing better community relationships and a spirit of neighborly co-operation. These idealists desired to share their lives with the lives of those less fortunate. Their efforts were directed towards serving individuals rather than group cultural interests.

The genesis of the Jewish settlement houses was entirely different. They were institutions rather than "the expanded home of a group of people of culture in a poorer neighborhood." Jews who had emigrated at an earlier period and had raised their social standing and financial position in their respective cities were moved by a sense of communal responsibility for their less fortunate newly-arrived brethren. The wealthier among them accordingly organized and maintained institutions for the less privileged groups. These institutions were frequently founded by the Jewish community as a whole or by a major Jewish organization with the objective of Americanizing the Jewish immigrant group. The only residents in the Jewish agencies were the employed workers. A

study made in 1915 revealed that only fourteen Jewish settlements had residents and these consisted exclusively of the professional staff.³²³ Furthermore, the clientele of the Jewish institution was usually drawn from all parts of the community and was not limited to the immediate neighborhood. The Jewish immigrant had not grown up in a "slum"; he was accidentally thrown into a strange social and economic environment. He was not a permanent resident of that environment, and left when the opportunity arose.

An important difference is also to be found in the fact that the Jewish agencies were educational institutions rather than social service and social and recreational organizations. Their clientele were "the people of the Book," who came with a tradition of learning and culture. The major activities of the early Jewish settlements were vocational training and the teaching of English. The Baron de Hirsch Fund for many years conducted special classes for children to enable them to enter the public school system in classes with children of their own age. Many of them had come from Europe with an extensive knowledge of Bible and Talmud. An interesting activity was the establishment of classes for *melamdim*, the Hebrew teachers, which gradually evolved into a college preparatory school. As time went on, the program of many Jewish agencies began to resemble that of the non-sectarian settlement house, but in the beginning they were chiefly educational centers and agencies for the rapid adjustment of Jewish immigrants to the new world. The general use of such names as Jewish Educational Alliance, Hebrew Institute, Jewish Educational Institute, and so forth, accurately reflects these early objectives.

The early Jewish neighborhood centers had their origins in agencies originally founded to provide religious education. These Hebrew free school systems and "mission schools" were philanthropies, and, as a natural result, the institutions they developed were likewise philanthropically motivated and

³²³ W. L. Solomon, in *JChs*, Oct., 1915, pp. 47-52.

governed. Their boards of directors were self-perpetuating and the participants were given no voice in policy-making or in planning. Consequently, they tended to alienate the self-supporting young people and adults who did not wish to be regarded as underprivileged. Thus, the name "Milwaukee Jewish Mission" (1896) had to be abandoned after a few years "because of intense opposition of the immigrants themselves, who . . . resented the 'mission' idea applied to them."³²⁹

A less natural development, however, in view of the manner in which the early Jewish settlements arose, was the trend towards anti-sectarianism. In the effort to Americanize the immigrant, it was sometimes felt that traditional Jewish cultural activities and interests, and the use of Yiddish and Hebrew with their rich literature, drama and music, interfered with the process of assimilation and Americanization. Almost from the very beginning of activities in behalf of the immigrant, efforts were made in a number of communities to depreciate and eliminate Jewish motivation, and to emphasize non-sectarian approaches. The New York Educational Alliance dropped the name Hebrew Institute and proclaimed itself a non-sectarian institution, although it never gave up the conduct of religious schools and other Jewish activities. This example was followed by other settlement houses founded under Jewish auspices. As previously noted, the efforts of the United Y. M. H. A. of America to establish a national industrial school were opposed because of the "denominational aspect."

The immigrant groups reacted against these tendencies and lost no time in forming organizations of their own. As previously recounted, the Jewish Alliance of America was organized in 1890 by Russian Jews, with branches in the principal cities for the purpose of undertaking themselves the problem of distribution of the new arrivals throughout the country. The organization of local cultural and demo-

³²⁹ *Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle, Jewish Community Blue Book of Milwaukee and Wisconsin*, Milwaukee, Wis., 1925, pp. 83-85.

cratically governed organizations by immigrant groups proceeded at a rapid pace. They were frequently known as Hebrew Literature or Literary Societies and Institutes. Reference has already been made to the Philadelphia Hebrew Literature Society, organized in 1885. The Chicago Hebrew Institute, later the Jewish People's Institute and now the Jewish Community Centers, organized in 1903, was operated on democratic and self-supporting principles, with a positive Jewish policy. In addition to cultural and social groups, the newcomers organized their own social service agencies, free loan societies, benefit and fraternal groups, and, of course, religious schools. The demand for an affirmative Jewish program became pronounced in the early 1900's, and was due in large measure to the opposition of immigrant groups to the assimilation policies of the philanthropically administered agencies. In 1908, Louis Marshall addressed the National Conference of Jewish Charities on "The Need of a Distinctly Jewish Tendency in the Conduct of Jewish Educational Institutions," and said:

Unless our educational institutions shall create for themselves a Jewish atmosphere and a distinctly Jewish tendency, they have no reason whatever for existing. It is only the presence of such a tendency that makes them Jewish; not the fact that they are constructed with funds contributed by Jews, that they are officered by Jews, that Jews alone support them, and that Jews alone are their beneficiaries.³³⁰

Paralleling these diverse trends was the establishment of Federations of Jewish Charities. Between 1895 and 1900, seven such Federations were organized. The next decade, however, witnessed a rapid growth of the movement; and by 1915 nearly forty additional Federations were organized.³³¹ Voices were raised in behalf of Jewish activities and what were later to be called "character-building" agencies. In

³³⁰ The National Conference of Jewish Charities in the United States, *Fifth Biennial Session, 1908*, Baltimore, 1909, pp. 112-122.

³³¹ Joseph Jacobs, "Federation Movement," in the *American Jewish Year Book, 1915-1916*, pp. 159-198.

1905, Jacob H. Schiff wrote in advocacy of a Federation for New York City: "There is absolutely no reason why the care for the sick should be better provided for than the care for the dependent, or why larger provision should be made for the orphan than for the religious education and moral care of the juvenile."³³²

One important result of this trend was the merger of functions and the erection of buildings to house several organizations. These buildings frequently afforded facilities for federation headquarters, the Hebrew School, the Y. M. H. A., the Y. W. H. A., the B'nai B'rith and other lodges, and similar communal activities. In many respects they functioned as community centers. The St. Louis Jewish Charitable and Educational Union (known as the Jewish Alliance), 1901, and the Detroit Hannah Schloss Building and Jewish Institute, 1903, were early instances of institutions serving as federation headquarters and housing a variety of other communal activities. The tendency became more marked during the years immediately preceding the first World War. The Atlanta, Ga., Y. M. H. A. (1902), which occupied its own building, was merged with the Jewish Educational Alliance (1908), and a new building was erected in 1910 as "a community building, a social center for all Jewry"³³³; subsequently the Jewish Federation of Charities was housed in the same building. The Kansas City, Mo., Jewish Educational Institute (1909) housed the Jewish charities, a Hebrew school, classes for immigrants, recreational activities, kindergarten, public baths, and an auditorium; the Columbus, Ohio, Jewish Educational Alliance (1910), now the Hermine Schonthal Center, housed the Y. M. H. A., Y. W. H. A., and other organizations; the Syracuse, N. Y., Marshall Memorial Home (1910) was operated jointly by the Y. M. H. A. and the Council of Jewish Women. The Indianapolis, Ind., Jewish Communal Building

³³² *Jewish Charity* (= *JCh*), March, 1905, p. 171.

³³³ *JChs*, Aug., 1913, p. 6.

(1911), the Savannah, Ga., Jewish Educational Alliance (1912), the Toledo, Ohio, Jewish Educational League (1913), and the Buffalo, N. Y., Jewish Community Building (1913) were among the community-wide institutions established during this period. All of these buildings represented the centralization and co-ordination of a number of local activities.

By 1910, the term "Jewish Social Center" or "Jewish Educational Center" was widely used; and the term "community" or "communal" was being incorporated into the names of some of the newer institutions. The extent to which some of these institutions attempted to approximate the modern Jewish Community Center is evidenced by the Indianapolis project. Here a community-wide campaign was conducted in 1911:

to erect a communal building for a Jewish Center and for educational activities. It is desired to combine all Jewish activities, as lodges and all other organizations in this movement, so as to build up an institution on democratic principles and to eliminate all charitable phases. It is hoped that every Jewish citizen will become a member of the institution. It is estimated that the building will contain a library, gymnasium, swimming pool, lodge-rooms, and auditorium, kitchen facilities, dining room, and playgrounds.³³⁴

The new center was opened in 1913 and Dr. Boris D. Bogen said at its dedication:

It is an expression of a community of its needs. It is not made for the poor, nor is it going to serve the weak. It shall serve the community at large and in this respect it is a new departure in Jewish philanthropic work.³³⁵

In practice, none of these institutions were true community centers, but were instead partial approximations of the new concept. They were democratic only in the sense that they were designed to include, in so far as possible, all local Jewish communal activities. All of them, including the Indianapolis Jewish Communal Building, were maintained

³³⁴ *Ibid.*, May, 1911, p. 4.

³³⁵ *Ibid.*, Nov., 1916, p. 140.

and governed by local federations of Jewish philanthropies, whose headquarters were usually housed in these institutions, or by wealthy contributors. The concept of participation in the government of the institutions by those served had not yet arrived. Within a relatively short time—due to such factors as their federation and charitable affiliations, the changing character of the Jewish populations during the war period, movement of Jewish populations away from their original locations which had become “east side” areas, and, above all, the rise of the Jewish Community Center movement—most of these communal institutions reverted to the status of the so-called settlement. However, in some of the smaller communities, where problems affecting the social life of the Jewish community were more important than those affecting its physical welfare, the communal center began to develop as a general meeting place and a unifying point of local Jewish life.

During the two decades, beginning approximately in 1890 and extending to the outbreak of the first World War, the older Y. M. H. A.'s failed to maintain the rapid rate of growth which had previously characterized them. The new directions in which the energies of the Jewish communities were turned and also the lack of a national organization (for Y. M. H. A.'s still continued to develop quite independently of each other in all parts of the country) tended to retard the organization of new associations. The larger associations wholeheartedly threw their efforts and resources into assisting the new arrivals, in some instances to their own detriment. There was also a tendency among some of the older associations to represent the “uptown” Jews, to the exclusion of the newer arrivals. The movement, however, continued to make progress particularly in the southern and more remote communities, which were the last to be influenced by the inroads of Russian immigrants. Evidences of stability in the Y. M. H. A. movement began to appear in these communities after 1890. During this decade, the

Y. M. H. A.'s began to acquire or build their own homes, and to employ professional staffs. In 1900, the New York Y. M. H. A. issued a call to form a national organization "in order that they may be bound together in a great common cause of philanthropy and education throughout the Union, such as the various Y. M. C. A.'s are."³³⁶ Jacob H. Schiff wrote to the president of the New York Y. M. H. A. in 1907:

It has occurred to me that there should be formed a National League of Young Men's Hebrew Associations. There is now, I believe, in almost every large town in the United States a Young Men's Hebrew Association, and I believe if these associations could be gotten in close touch with each other, that much could be done to promote Jewish life among the younger generation of American Israelites.³³⁷

The Y. M. H. A.'s, though their rate of expansion had been retarded, were nevertheless firmly established. Moreover, new strength was to come from the immigrant groups.

The same negative reactions of their elders to certain phases of the well-intentioned Americanization efforts were reflected in the young people. They turned to the Y.M.H.A. and the Y. W. H. A. Here was a movement that met their needs; it stood for the preservation of Jewish cultural and spiritual values, as well as the fundamentals of the American spirit—equality of opportunity, democracy in government, and freedom from outside domination. Such Y. M. H. A.'s made their appearance as early as 1887, where an association was organized in St. Louis by Russian Jews, independent of the older existing Y. M. H. A. The real development of these associations began about 1895, and particularly in the early 1900's. The growth was rapid and was especially marked along the Central and North Atlantic seaboard where the greatest concentration of the immigrant population was to be found.

There are important differences to be noted between the

³³⁶ New York Y. M. H. A., *Annual Report*, 1900.

³³⁷ Cyrus Adler, *Jacob H. Schiff*, v. 2, p. 60.

early Y. M. H. A.'s and the later associations organized by the newer groups. The early associations had been organized in communities with established congregations and English-speaking rabbis; in fact the rabbis had been earnest promoters of the new movement during the last century. Furthermore, practically all types of Jewish communal organizations were in existence, and had been gradually established over a fairly long period. In the new Jewish communities which began to develop rapidly, particularly in the eastern states, Americanized religious leadership was lacking; and the organization of Jewish communal institutions, including Y. M. H. A.'s, paralleled the rapid growth of the community at large. The newer Y. M. H. A.'s accordingly developed in two directions. In the first place, they conducted religious activities and supplied religious leadership in many communities. During the period from 1900 to approximately 1920, a large number of Y. M. H. A.'s conducted high holiday and weekly religious services, and operated religious schools. In 1915, regular Sabbath services were conducted by twenty-eight associations; and religious schools, both daily and weekly, by forty-five associations.³³⁸ Some of the modern congregations now functioning in New England and the Middle Atlantic seaboard communities are the direct results of these activities. The Galveston, Texas, Y. M. H. A. conducted religious services from 1896 to 1931, when it was merged with a local congregation. The community synagogues in Waltham, Mass., and Milford, Mass., are owned and maintained by Y. M. H. A.'s. Secondly, in the small communities, the Y. M. H. A.'s served as community clubs and social centers for all groups, both young and old. These trends, together with the simultaneous development of other communal institutions, led to the establishment of institutions housing several community organizations, and ultimately to the modern community center.

³³⁸ Council of Y. M. H. and Kindred Associations, *Annual Report, Board of Managers*, New York, 1915, pp. 44-46.

By 1910, there were over 100 Y. M. H. A.'s with a membership of 20,000 and new associations were springing up rapidly.³³⁹ Regional federations began to make their appearance. Debating and athletic leagues were organized in the Metropolitan New York area in 1910. The Pennsylvania Federation of Y. M. H. A.'s held its first convention in 1910, the Associated Y. M. H. A.'s of New England in 1911, and the New Jersey Federation of Y. M. H. A.'s in 1912. This period was also marked by the development of independent Young Women's Hebrew Associations. The Associated Y. W. H. A.'s of New England was organized in 1913. The time was propitious for the establishment of a permanent national organization. The prime mover in the undertaking was Felix M. Warburg, then president of the New York Y. M. H. A. A conference was held in New York, October 13, 1912, at the call of Dr. Cyrus Adler, Judge Julian W. Mack, Louis Marshall, Professor Morris Loeb, Judge Samuel Greenbaum and Felix M. Warburg.³⁴⁰ Seventy-five nationally prominent Jewish leaders were present, including (in addition to the above group) Dr. Solomon Schechter, Mrs. Israel Unterberg, Julius Rosenwald, Dr. Samuel Schulman, Dr. Judah L. Magnes, and others. At this conference, a committee of ten was appointed for the purpose of organizing permanently.

At the call of this committee, delegates representing sixty-five local associations and four regional organizations held their first convention, November 2, 1913, in New York.³⁴¹ Judge Mack opened the convention as chairman and stated that, through the national organization, the Y. M. H. A.'s "will be enabled to make of their members better Jews and therefore better citizens." It was also announced that a fund of \$12,500 annually was available for five years for the work of the national organization.

³³⁹ *JChs*, Feb., 1912, pp. 15-16.

³⁴⁰ *Hebrew Standard*, Oct. 18, 1912; *AH*, Oct. 18, 1912.

³⁴¹ Young Men's Hebrew and Kindred Associations, *Proceedings at Convention*, New York, Nov. 2, 1913.

The changing character of this period was evidenced by the debate which took place with regard to the choice of a name for the new national organization. Judge Samuel Greenbaum, then president of the New York Educational Alliance, favored the establishment of a general educational clearing house. In line with this idea, Louis Marshall proposed the name, "United Jewish Educational Alliance." Dr. Judah L. Magnes suggested the name, "General Council of Jewish Centers." The younger delegates favored a Federation of Y. M. H. A.'s. Mr. Marshall finally proposed the name which was adopted, "The Council of Young Men's Hebrew and Kindred Associations."³⁴²

The delegates then proceeded to elect the permanent board of managers (which elected its own officers at the close of the convention): Judge Julian W. Mack, president; Judge Samuel Greenbaum, first vice-president; Jacob Newman, second vice-president; Felix M. Warburg, secretary; Judge Irving Lehman, treasurer; A. Leo Weil, Alfred M. Cohen, Jacques Back, Judge M. C. Sloss, David A. Ellis, I. W. Bernheim, Isaac Hassler, Mrs. Israel Unterberg, Louis Marshall and Harry Fischel. The board of trustees included Dr. Cyrus Adler, president; Adolph Lewisohn, Jacob H. Schiff, Herbert N. Straus and Judge Julian W. Mack.

A board of experts was also appointed under the chairmanship of I. Edwin Goldwasser. The responsibilities of its members were as follows: Dr. Samson Benderly, Jewish education; Dr. Mordecai M. Kaplan, the training of teachers and social workers; and Dr. J. L. Magnes,

the problem of building up in every existing institution the feeling that it should not be alone a center for educational and religious work as such, but that it shall become a center for Jewish communal life in the community in which it is located.

Thus the new national organization began with these important assets; outstanding leadership, financial support, and professional direction. At the time of its organization

³⁴² *AH*, Nov. 7, 1913.

there were 175 local associations, with an approximate membership of 39,000. It represented the first successful establishment of the movement on a national basis. It marked the beginning of a new era in a movement which was to undergo tremendous expansion and to make a permanent impress upon American Jewish life through the development of the Jewish Community Center.

From their earliest beginnings about the middle of the last century, a number of Y. M. H. A.'s had an affirmative Jewish program and the objective of establishing community-wide organizations with a common platform for all young Jewish men in the community. It is possible that these groups might have developed into Jewish Community Centers had not new factors entered into American Jewish life, beginning 1880. These early objectives were sometimes lost in the face of the host of new problems which tended to institutionalize the Y. M. H. A.'s, and to develop philanthropic and Americanization programs. The new immigrants gradually began to organize their own institutions and also Y. M. H. A.'s in large numbers. These Y. M. H. A.'s functioned as community social centers for all groups in the community and frequently met the lack of religious leadership and religious institutions. The Jewish settlement-type institutions and neighborhood centers which developed extensively were more distinctly educational institutions than were the non-sectarian settlement houses. In the early 1900's, programs which increasingly emphasized Jewish life began to develop. Frequently the existing Y. M. H. A.'s became the nuclei around which Jewish Community Centers were organized. Out of these trends, the Jewish Community Center emerged.

This span of threescore years witnessed the development of literary societies into community-wide associations that aspired to unite the community and build centers of Jewish activity dedicated to the preservation of Jewish consciousness as a constructive force in American society. A unique organization had been created in the New World.

APPENDIX A.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE ESTABLISHMENT
OF YOUNG MEN'S HEBREW ASSOCIATIONS AND
KINDRED ORGANIZATIONS IN AMERICA FROM
1854 TO 1891.³⁴³

DATE	CITY
1854	Baltimore, Md.
1857	Augusta, Ga.
1858	Buffalo, N. Y., Hebrew Young Men's Association.
1859	Cleveland, Ohio.
1860's early....	Richmond, Va.
1861	Syracuse, N. Y.
1862	Louisville, Ky.
1865	Cincinnati, Ohio.
1866	New Orleans, La. (active).
—	Quincy, Ill. (active).
1867	Cincinnati, Ohio.
—	Richmond, Va.
1868	Baltimore, Md.
—	Lafayette, Ind.
—	Louisville, Ky.
1869	Cleveland, Ohio, Hebrew Literary Association.
—	Madison, Ind.
—	Montgomery, Ala.
—	Parkersburg, W. Va.
1870	Baltimore, Md.
—	Henderson, Ky.
—	Louisville, Ky.
—	New York, N. Y.
1873	Cincinnati, Ohio.
—	New York, N. Y., Young Men's Association of Temple Ahavath Chesed.
—	Philadelphia, Pa.
1874	New York, N. Y.
—	Savannah, Ga.
1875	Baltimore, Md.
—	Boston, Mass.

³⁴³ All institutions herein listed were called Young Men's Hebrew Associations unless otherwise indicated. In such cases where the name of the city alone is repeated, this indicates that the organization became defunct and was reconstituted subsequently.

DATE	CITY
1875	Cleveland, Ohio, Young Men's Jewish Association.
—	Jersey City, N. J.
—	Marion, S. C.
—	Philadelphia, Pa.
1876	Brooklyn, N. Y.
—	Leavenworth, Kan. (active).
—	New York City Young Men's Hebrew Union.
—	Washington, D. C.
1877	Baltimore, Md.
—	Charleston, S. C.
—	Chicago, Ill. (three associations): North Side, South Side and West Side.
—	Cincinnati, Ohio.
—	Indianapolis, Ind.
—	New Orleans, La.
—	New York, N. Y. (East Side).
—	Newark, N. J.
—	Paterson, N. J.
—	Pittsburgh, Pa.
—	St. Louis, Mo., Hebrew Young Men's Literary Association.
—	San Francisco, Calif.
—	Tarboro, N. C.
—	Wilkes-Barre, Pa.
—	Williamsport, Pa.
1878	Brooklyn, N. Y., Young Men's Hebrew Union.
—	Chattanooga, Tenn.
—	Galveston, Texas.
—	Hartford, Conn.
—	Louisville, Ky.
—	Macon, Ga.
—	New York, N. Y. (Harlem).
—	Opelousas, La.
1879	Boston, Mass., Young Men's Hebrew Union (active).
—	Dallas, Texas.
—	Oakland, Calif.
—	Portland, Ore.
—	Pottsville, Pa.
—	Rome, Ga., Jewish Young Men's Association.
—	San Antonio, Texas (active).
—	Troy, N. Y.

DATE	CITY
1879	Wheeling, W. Va.
1880	Albany, N. Y. (active).
—	Altoona, Pa.
—	Atlanta, Ga. (active).
—	Bradford, Pa. (active).
—	Buffalo, N. Y.
—	Cleveland, Ohio, Young Men's Hebrew Union.
—	Cumberland, Md. (active).
—	Danville, Va.
—	Donaldsonville, La.
—	Mount Vernon, Ind.
—	New York, N. Y., Young Men's Association of Temple Beth-El.
—	Providence, R. I. (active).
—	Quincy, Ill.
—	St. Louis, Mo.
—	Washington, D. C.
1881	Boston, Mass.
—	Grand Rapids, Mich.
—	Hornellsville, N. Y.
—	Memphis, Tenn.
—	Mobile, Ala.
—	Nashville, Tenn.
—	New York, N. Y. (Yorkville).
—	San Francisco, Calif., Young Men's Hebrew Union.
—	Wilmington, N. C.
1882	Alexandria, La.
—	Buffalo, N. Y., Jewish Young Men's Association.
—	Hoboken, N. J.
—	Jacksonville, Fla.
—	Petersburg, Va.
—	Scranton, Pa.
1883	Columbus, Ohio.
—	Elizabeth, N. J.
—	Kansas City, Mo.
—	Milwaukee, Wis.
—	New York, N. Y. (Downtown Branch).
1884	Houston, Texas (active).
—	Minneapolis, Minn.
—	Mobile, Ala.
—	St. Paul, Minn.
1886	Brooklyn, N. Y.

DATE	CITY
1886	Jackson, Miss.
—	Little Rock, Ark.
—	Omaha, Neb.
—	Syracuse, N. Y.
1887	Birmingham, Ala.
—	Brooklyn, N. Y. (Greenpoint).
—	Canton, Miss.
—	Charleston, S. C.
—	Denver, Col.
—	Lafayette, Ind.
—	Montgomery, Ala.
—	Olean, N. Y.
—	Rochester, N. Y., Young Men's Jewish Association.
—	St. Louis, Mo.
—	Waco, Texas.
—	Wichita, Kan.
1888	Augusta, Ga.
—	Fort Scott, Kan.
—	Fort Worth, Texas (active).
—	Los Angeles, Calif. (active).
—	New York, N. Y., Young Women's Hebrew Association.
—	Rome, Ga.
—	Savannah, Ga.
—	Selma, Ala.
—	Texarkana, Texas (active).
1889	Appleton, Wis.
—	Cleveland, Ohio.
—	Greenville, Miss.
—	New York, N. Y., Educational Alliance.
—	New York, N. Y., Emanu-El Sisterhood.
—	Providence, R. I.
—	Scranton, Pa.
—	Trinidad, Col.
1890	Atlanta, Ga. (active).
—	Baltimore, Md.
—	Gainesville, Texas.
—	Hamilton, Ontario (active).
—	Louisville, Ky.
—	Syracuse, N. Y.
—	Vicksburg, Miss.
—	Yonkers, N. Y.

APPENDIX B.
ALPHABETICAL TABLE OF YOUNG MEN'S
HEBREW ASSOCIATIONS AND KINDRED
ORGANIZATIONS IN AMERICA
FROM 1854 TO 1891.

CITY	DATE
Albany, N. Y. (active).....	1880
Alexandria, La.	1882
Altoona, Pa.....	1880
Appleton, Wis.	1889
Atlanta, Ga. (active).....	1880
—— (active)	1890
Augusta, Ga.	1857
——	1888
Baltimore, Md.	1854
——	1868
——	1870
——	1875
——	1877
——	1890
Birmingham, Ala.	1887
Boston, Mass.	1875
—— (Young Men's Hebrew Union) (active)	1879
——	1881
Bradford, Pa.	1880
Brooklyn, N. Y.	1876
—— (Young Men's Hebrew Union)	1878
——	1886
—— (Greenpoint)	1887
Buffalo, N. Y. (Hebrew Young Men's Association).....	1858
——	1880
—— (Jewish Young Men's Association).....	1882
Canton, Miss.	1887
Charleston, S. C.....	1877
——	1887
Chattanooga, Tenn.	1878
Chicago, Ill. (three associations: North Side, South Side and West Side).....	1877
Cincinnati, Ohio.....	1865
——	1867
——	1873

CITY	DATE
Cincinnati, Ohio.	1877
Cleveland, Ohio.	1859
——— (Hebrew Literary Association).	1869
——— (Young Men's Jewish Association).	1875
——— (Young Men's Hebrew Union).	1880
———	1889
Columbus, Ohio.	1883
Cumberland, Md. (active)	1880
Dallas, Texas	1879
Danville, Va.	1880
Denver, Col.	1887
Donaldsonville, La.	1880
Elizabeth, N. J.	1883
Fort Scott, Kan.	1888
Fort Worth, Texas (active)	1888
Gainesville, Texas	1890
Galveston, Texas	1878
Grand Rapids, Mich.	1881
Greenville, Miss.	1889
Hamilton, Ontario (active)	1890
Hartford, Conn.	1878
Henderson, Ky.	1870
Hoboken, N. J.	1882
Hornellsville, N. Y.	1881
Houston, Texas (active)	1884
Indianapolis, Ind.	1877
Jackson, Miss.	1886
Jacksonville, Fla.	1882
Jersey City, N. J.	1875
Kansas City, Mo.	1883
Lafayette, Ind.	1868
———	1887
Leavenworth, Kan. (active)	1876
Little Rock, Ark.	1886
Los Angeles, Calif. (active)	1888
Louisville, Ky.	1862
———	1868
———	1870
———	1878
———	1890
Macon, Ga.	1878
Madison, Ind.	1869

CITY	DATE
Marion, S. C.	1875
Memphis, Tenn.	1881
Milwaukee, Wis.	1883
Minneapolis, Minn.	1884
Mobile, Ala.	1881
.....	1884
Montgomery, Ala.	1869
.....	1887
Mount Vernon, Ind.	1880
Nashville, Tenn.	1881
New Orleans, La. (active).....	1866
.....	1877
New York, N. Y.	1870
—— (Young Men's Association of Temple Ahavath Chesed).....	1873
.....	1874
—— (Young Men's Hebrew Union)	1876
—— (East Side)	1877
—— (Harlem)	1878
—— (Young Men's Association of Temple Beth-El) ...	1880
—— (Yorkville)	1881
—— (Downtown Branch)	1883
—— (Y. W. H. A.)	1888
—— (Educational Alliance)	1889
—— (Emanu-El Sisterhood)	1889
Newark, N. J.	1877
Oakland, Calif.	1879
Olean, N. Y.	1887
Omaha, Neb.	1886
Opelousas, La.	1878
Parkersburg, W. Va.	1869
Paterson, N. J.	1877
Petersburg, Va.	1882
Philadelphia, Pa.	1873
.....	1875
Pittsburgh, Pa.	1877
Portland, Oregon	1879
Pottsville, Pa.	1879
Providence, R. I. (active)	1880
.....	1889
Quincy, Ill. (active)	1866
.....	1880

CITY	DATE
Richmond, Va. [early 1860's].	1860
——— (Jefferson Literary Association).	1867
Rochester, N. Y. (Young Men's Jewish Association).	1887
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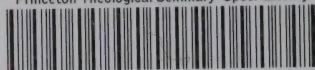
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